

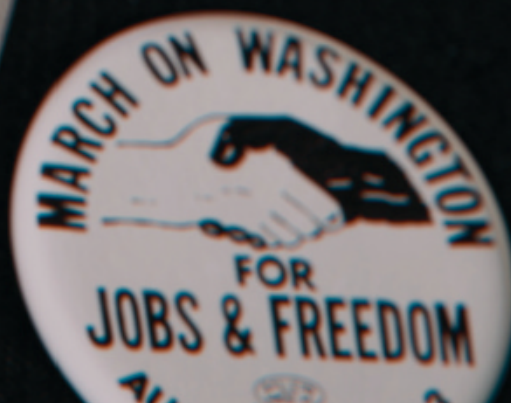
TIME

HIS LEGACY

THE FIGHT FOR EQUALITY

*Gabrielle Union
Dwyane Wade
Janet Mock
Raj Chetty
Anne Case
Angus Deaton
Annette Gordon-Reed
Darren Walker
and
John Lewis*

This image is created
from a historically precise
3-D rendering of Martin
Luther King Jr. from
The March, a virtual
reality experience





“When
my mom
was diagnosed with cancer,
I wanted her
to have access to
the best
treatments
available.”

SONEQUA MARTIN-GREEN
Stand Up To Cancer Ambassador

Photo By
MATT SAYLES

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Stand Up To Cancer is a division of the Entertainment Industry Foundation (EIF), a 501(c)(3) charitable organization.



From the Editor

The March

ONE OF THE MOST REMARKABLE DOCUMENTS IN our archives is a letter that Martin Luther King Jr. sent to TIME founder Henry Luce upon being named what was then called Man of the Year. 1963, King wrote, will long be remembered as a period “that has carved for itself a uniqueness in history.” It was the year the civil rights movement entered a new stage—crowned by one of the most powerful and enduring speeches in American history. The moment King stepped off the podium in front of the Lincoln Memorial late that summer, it was clear the words he’d spoken there would resonate far beyond the hundreds of thousands of people gathered on the mall.

King’s “I Have a Dream” speech has since been woven into the fabric of the nation, memorialized in photographs and grainy video. But what if we could step through the frame today and visit that historic scene, see King with our own eyes, hear his words with our own ears? That’s what my colleague Mia Tramz, who creates immersive journalistic experiences, wondered back in 2016 as she walked through the TIME offices, down a hallway filled with historic photographs. A life-size print of a photograph of King, delivering a different speech at the Lincoln Memorial in 1957, caught her eye. “At that size,” Mia says of the image, the work of photographer Paul Schutzer, “it has an immersive quality that’s very much like virtual reality, and makes you feel as though you’re standing there.”

FOR THE NEXT THREE YEARS, Mia—with the help of many partners, including the King estate, executive producers Viola Davis and Julius Tennon, and the immersive storyteller Alton Glass—developed and built *The March*, a traveling exhibit that features a groundbreaking VR re-creation of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Produced by TIME Studios, our Emmy-winning film and production division, it is the first virtualization of the “Dream” speech and the most lifelike re-creation of a person ever released in VR. The exhibit will open at Chicago’s DuSable Museum of African American History on Feb. 28, and more details can be found at time.com/the-march.

In all, about 300 people have worked on this project over the years. That is in addition to scores of people across the TIME staff, including Ian Orefice, president of TIME Studios; senior editor Lily Rothman, who oversaw this special issue; and art director Victor Williams, who with the artist Hank Willis Thomas created the cover. You can read more about the journey in these pages,



Co-creators Glass and Tramz with two motion-capture actors from *The March*



1957



1964



1965



2013

along with reporting and reflections by writers, leaders and activists on the abiding meaning of the march and the state of equality in America today.

Through thousands of hours of research, we have endeavored to be true to the history of that August day. But we at TIME also see the project as a call to each of us for all that is yet to be done in the unfinished fight for equality, including in our own work. Our hope is that it will not only change the way we see history, but also help awaken in all of us an understanding of the power of our own voice to have a positive impact on the world.

“In a day where division defines our country,” notes Mia, “the March reminds us of what can be accomplished when we come together.” Or as 9-year-old Ashlin C.—one of the many students across the nation we asked to reflect on what they would march for today—puts it: “I stand up for everyone to get along and be treated equally.”

Edward Felsenthal,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF & CEO
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Conversation

BEHIND THE COVER

A new picture of an American icon

AFTER *TIME* CREATED A VIRTUAL REALITY version of the 1963 March on Washington, we asked artist Hank Willis Thomas how he would translate that immersive experience on the cover.

At a Jan. 19 photo shoot, Thomas—a co-founder of For Freedoms, a platform for artistic civic engagement—put his answer into action. He photographed actor Ty Brittingham, who served as a stand-in for Martin Luther King Jr. A team of digital-human experts at visual-effects studio Digital Domain used those images as a foundation for posing and lighting the 3-D digital rendering of King from *The March* to create the image you see on the cover. Thomas says he was excited to make a portrait of one of his heroes, as well as for the chance to explore the artistic potential of the emerging technology.

At right, Thomas captures Brittingham at Digital Domain's Los Angeles studio on Jan. 19, as TIME's Mia Tramz stands to the side; top right, Thomas at work; top left, the team gathers to discuss the setup for the shoot



SPONSOR MESSAGE

Committing to a dream

Why does an insurance company care about equality? Equality gives every person the chance to succeed—to dream fearlessly—and American Family Insurance is committed to making those dreams possible.

Our commitment starts in the workplace, where our employees embrace a culture of inclusive excellence. I've signed the CEO Action for Diversity & Inclusion pledge—a promise to foster meaningful conversation and action, both inside our organization and with other companies. Together, we're

supporting inclusive communities and creating a healthy environment for complex—even difficult—conversations about these issues. Finding your voice is important, and we're a stronger and more innovative society when every voice is heard.

In a world where trust in long-standing institutions is waning, I believe it's important for businesses to leverage their influence to create positive change for society. We do this not just because we know our customers want to do business with companies that share their values, but also because we have the power (and responsibility) to have a real impact on the world.

That's why I'm proud American Family Insurance is presenting both this issue dedicated to equality

and also *The March*, an immersive experience that allows all of us to join the historic moment when fearless dreamers marched on Washington. This is a chance to celebrate so many who courageously helped change the world. I hope *The March* will also serve as inspiration for the next generation to discover new voices for hope—and to pursue new dreams.

For more than 90 years, American Family Insurance has invested in programs that benefit our communities and improve our society.

We are honored to partner with *TIME* to bring you this special issue, and to celebrate those who seek equality.

—Jack Salzwedel, chair and CEO of American Family Insurance

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Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

TIME DARE TO DREAM THE MARCH

A GROUNDBREAKING VIRTUAL REALITY EXHIBIT

TRAVEL BACK IN TIME TO PARTICIPATE IN ONE OF THE MOST HISTORIC MOMENTS OF THE
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Conversation

TIME FOR KIDS

A world kids want to live in

TIME FOR KIDS PREPARED FOR ITS own version of this week's special project about equality today—an issue geared to elementary-school students, about the legacy of the 1963 March on Washington—by asking students nationwide what they would march for today. Here are some of the most inspiring responses. Visit timeforkids.com for more stories that put the news in context for kids.

My dream is to have people with disabilities be treated like everyone else.

AIDEN G., 11

I have a dream that all violence and war goes away so all people and animals are safe. I have a dream that all people can have good food and clean water. I have a dream that all people can have a good education. I have a dream that all people can feel safe and protected wherever you live or work.

CAELI B., 9

I stand for stopping senseless violence.

CAIRE R., 8

I have a dream that one day women all over the world will be treated equally. Women are strong, independent, brave, amazing, hardworking people and everyone should know that.

LAYLA E., 9



One day I hope when we look at each other, we just think 'human.' Instead of thinking about our differences, we should think about the things we have in common, and come together as humans.

AMEENAH C., 11

I don't think anyone deserves to be bullied. Instead of bullying, why don't we stand together?

NATALIE R., 11

I stand up for love and family. We all need love.

TRISTAN S., 16

1000's OF PROTESTS

45 ARRESTS

33 YEARS IN CONGRESS

SOMETIMES CHANGE CALLS FOR A LITTLE TROUBLE



JOHN LEWIS:
GOOD TROUBLE
THE FIGHT CONTINUES.

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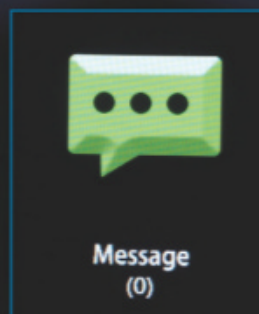
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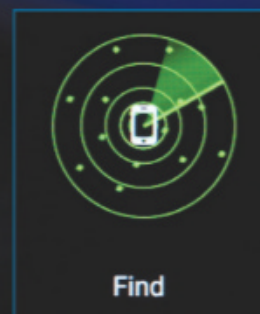
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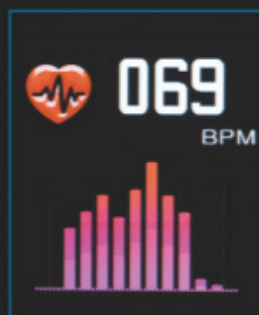
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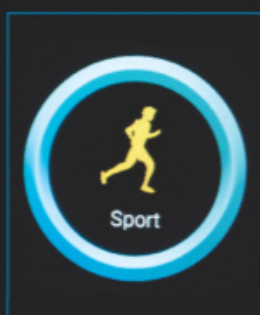
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texts alerts



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phone



Monitor
heart rate



Track steps
and calories

'Given recent national events, it is all the more important to learn from the mistakes of the past.'

A RESOLUTION

introduced by California assemblyman Al Muratsuchi, up for a vote Feb. 20, in which the state assembly apologizes to Americans of Japanese descent for its role in Japanese-American internment during World War II

'I played and sang my heart out, until my voice could sing no more.'

ELTON JOHN,

apologizing for ending a Feb. 16 concert in Auckland early because of walking pneumonia; shortly after, he postponed several shows

'NOT SURE WHO WAS MORE EXCITED. GLAD SHE REMEMBERS ME AFTER A YEAR!'

CHRISTINA H. KOCH,

NASA astronaut, on a viral Feb. 13 tweet showing video of her dog's reaction when Koch arrived home after 328 days in space

'I actually really quite liked labor!'

KATE MIDDLETON,

the Duchess of Cambridge, in a Feb. 15 podcast interview about motherhood and pregnancy

'I would like to take a master's degree in history.'

JACK B. WEINSTEIN,

Brooklyn federal judge, who recently announced his retirement at the age of 98, on what he plans to do next



\$70 million

Box-office debut for *Sonic the Hedgehog*, marking the best domestic opening weekend for a film inspired by a video game

Plymouth Rock

Graffiti found Feb. 17 on rock marking 1620 arrival of the colony's founders

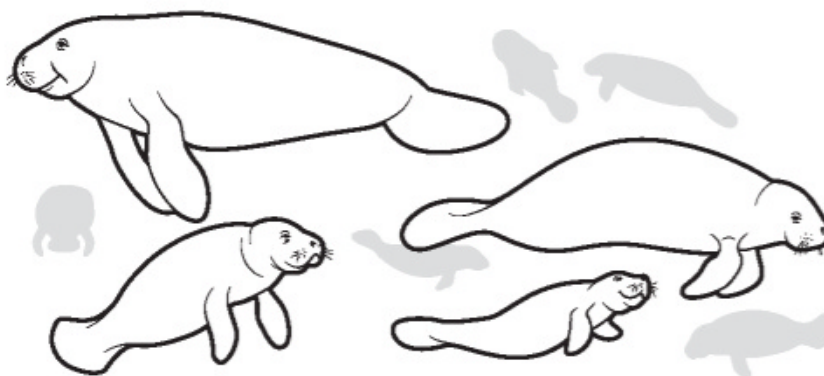


Rock music

Queen performed '85 Live Aid set list at the Feb. 16 Australian fire-relief benefit

26%

Approximate decrease in manatee deaths in Florida, from 824 in 2018 to 606 in 2019, per the state's Center for Biological Diversity





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The Brief



SEASICKNESS
The cruise ship
Diamond Princess
in Yokohama,
Japan, on Feb. 13;
at least 542 on
board tested
positive for
COVID-19

INSIDE

MAJORITY-CATHOLIC COLOMBIA
DEBATES LEGALIZING ABORTION

A U.S. ENVOY TRIES FOR PEACE
IN AFGHANISTAN

BOY SCOUTS SEEK BANKRUPTCY
AMID SEX-ABUSE CLAIMS

PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID MAREUIL

WORLD

The Olympics-size risk of COVID-19

By Charlie Campbell

IN A PROMOTIONAL VIDEO FEATURING Japanese tennis superstar Naomi Osaka, as well as fans of different nationalities, the organizing committee for the Tokyo 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Games revealed on Feb. 17 the event's official motto: "United by emotion."

Yet if there's one emotion linking the world today, it might be fear. The COVID-19 outbreak shows little sign of weakening. As of Feb. 19, the disease has infected more than 75,000, killed 2,014 and prompted more than 50 nations and territories to close their borders to arrivals from China. The "devil" virus, as Chinese President Xi Jinping has called it, is on the cusp of becoming a pandemic. The coming weeks will determine whether containment efforts can prevent COVID-19 from morphing into the "black-swan event" that Alibaba CEO Daniel Zhang has warned may derail the global economy.

The economic repercussions already look severe. According to research firm Capital Economics, COVID-19 will cost the world economy more than \$280 billion in the first quarter of this year. China's growth is expected to slow to 4.5% over the same period. Some 5 million companies have Chinese suppliers, according to data company Dun & Bradstreet; Apple warned on Feb. 17 of global iPhone supply shortages.

Travel in and around the region has ebbed significantly. Some 21 airlines have canceled all flights to mainland China. Hong Kong-based Cathay Pacific has cut 40% of network capacity and asked 27,000 employees to take unpaid leave to help it stay afloat. Events ranging from the pan-Asia sports tournament Hong Kong Rugby Sevens to K-pop concerts have been canceled or postponed.

NOW, SPECULATION IS MOUNTING about one of the year's biggest events, set to take place directly in the orbit of the outbreak: the 2020 Olympics in Tokyo, beginning July 24. Japan has the second highest number of COVID-19 infections after China, with 695 people testing positive for the virus, most of them on a cruise ship docked in Yokohama. Yet the Olympics torch relay is due to begin in March and traverse all of Japan's 47 prefectures over 121 days. And the Games themselves are expected to draw 600,000 foreign visitors from nearly every country. According to Japanese public broadcaster NHK, Tokyo 2020 organizing-committee chief executive Toshio Muto voiced concerns on Feb. 5 that COVID-19 might "throw

9.6 million

Number of visitors Japan received from China in 2019

30

Number of countries and territories with confirmed COVID-19 cases as of Feb. 19, including the U.S., Canada and Russia

695

Number of confirmed cases of COVID-19 in Japan as of Feb. 19

cold water on the momentum toward the Games."

As speculation swirled, Tokyo organizing-committee president Yoshiro Mori insisted on Feb. 13, "We are not considering a cancellation or postponement." Four days later, the city canceled its marathon, which was scheduled to take place on March 1, for all except elite runners. Dick Pound, an International Olympic Committee (IOC) member, told TIME the organization is examining the situation closely but not jumping to conclusions this far ahead of the Games. "If there's a legitimate pandemic that is potentially a lot more lethal than normal illnesses of flu, that's when you need to start thinking about it," he says. "But not at this stage."

The Tokyo committee's confidence is in line with projections that COVID-19 will fade during summer months, as SARS did in 2003. But it's not clear why SARS declined as temperatures rose. Some coronavirus strains—like MERS—thrive in the heat. The theory is "based on wishful thinking," says University of Minnesota epidemiologist Michael Osterholm. "There is no data to support it."

It's hard to overstate the economic impact on Japan if the Olympics are canceled or relocated. The Games themselves are set to cost \$25 billion, with more spent on infrastructure to handle the influx of international visitors expected this year. Koichiro Takahara, CEO of Tokyo-based ride-share app NearMe, says he fears the Olympics could be canceled if the outbreak worsens. "I am keeping my fingers crossed" that doesn't happen, he says.

It would also impose a political cost on Japan's Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, whose Cabinet has seen a slump in popularity, partly because of its handling of COVID-19. Skepticism will be rife, says Jules Boykoff, a professor at Pacific University in Oregon who studies the Games. "For many, when they hear Abe and other officials saying that the virus will not affect the Olympics, they hear the unmistakable ring of previous empty promises."

Then there's the cost to businesses that have ploughed vast resources into securing rights deals and sponsorships. NBC alone spent \$1.4 billion on broadcasting rights for Tokyo 2020. Both host and corporate interests will resist deviation, says Simon Chadwick, a sports-industry professor at France's Emlyon Business School. "The Japanese government is surely lobbying the IOC hard as it seeks to protect its multitude of investments," he says.

That might explain an apparent unwillingness to address the uncertainty. Asked what contingency plans were in place, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government told TIME, "We cannot provide a definitive answer to a hypothetical situation." Yet as the virus extends its tendrils further into the Asia region, the risks are only becoming more tangible. —*With reporting by SEAN GREGORY/NEW YORK and MAYAKO SHIBATA/TOKYO*



SOGGY RIDE A boy cycles through floodwater in Hereford, in the west of England, on Feb. 17, after Storm Dennis battered the country. Nearby areas in Wales saw their highest water levels in more than 40 years. Amid torrential rain, widespread flooding and high winds, the weather agency issued rare “danger to life” warnings, and at least two people have died. Prime Minister Boris Johnson came under fire for failing to visit flood-hit areas or to call a meeting of the emergencies committee.

THE BULLETIN

A Colombian court weighs legalizing abortion after a push to ban it outright

SINCE A 2006 RULING BY ITS CONSTITUTIONAL Court, majority-Catholic Colombia has allowed abortion in three cases: rape or incest, fatal fetal abnormality, and danger to the physical or mental health of the mother. Antiabortion campaigner Natalia Bernal Cano may be about to change that—but perhaps not in the way she hoped. Last year, she filed two legal actions demanding an end to the three exceptions. But on Feb. 19 a judge examining the case proposed that the court instead use its ruling to legalize all abortions in the first 16 weeks of pregnancy. A decision is expected by early March.

CONTROVERSIAL CASE Opponents of abortion say Colombian authorities have become too permissive since 2006. Many point to the case of a woman in the city of Popayán, who had a legal abortion in January at seven months pregnant as a result of mental-health problems. Bernal argues that legal abortions are unconstitutional because they carry health risks “for both the woman and her unborn child.”

OBSTACLES But abortion-rights groups say the Popayán case is an illustration of how hard it is to even get a legal abortion. Family-planning nonprofit Profamilia said the woman had been seeking a termination since her first trimester, but health officials refused. Paula Avila Guillen, the Latin America director at the New York-based Women’s Equality Center, says the current law discriminates against “poorer women who rely on the public-health system,” in which the three-exceptions rule is patchily implemented, while rich women can access abortions more easily from private doctors.

TIDE TURNS Only three countries and one city in Latin America and the Caribbean allow all abortions in early pregnancy. Despite a wave of protests across the region in recent years, no country has legalized abortion since Uruguay in 2012. Colombia’s course will be decided by a nine-person court where two women are swing votes. That could turn the tide in the abortion debate, one way or the other. —CIARA NUGENT

NEWS TICKER

Virginia’s ban on assault weapons fails

Governor Ralph Northam’s push for a bill that would **ban the sale or transfer of assault weapons** was blocked after four Democratic lawmakers sided with Republicans to reject the proposal on Feb. 17. They voted to delay the bill for a year and ask the state crime commission to study the issue.

Attorney General Barr under fire

More than 2,000 ex-Justice Department officials signed a Feb. 16 open letter **calling on Attorney General William Barr to resign** after he moved to reduce the sentence recommended for President Trump’s confidant Roger Stone. Trump had attacked prosecutors’ initial recommendation of up to nine years in prison.

Leak exposes China’s Uighur camps

A 137-page document was leaked detailing the Communist Party’s **crackdown on Uighurs and other Muslim minorities** in Xinjiang. The documents cite growing a beard and fasting as reasons for internment in camps, contradicting Beijing’s claims that its policies are intended to curb violent extremism and provide job training.

NEWS TICKER

Johnson aide resigns over race scandal

Andrew Sabisky, a newly appointed adviser to U.K. Prime Minister Boris Johnson, resigned on Feb. 17, after past **comments on race and IQ resurfaced indicating his support for eugenics**. Sabisky accused the media of “selective quoting” and “hysteria.”

Protests shut down Canada's rail networks

Indigenous and other activists protesting a natural-gas pipeline in British Columbia **shut down government buildings, bridges and rail lines** around Canada for more than a week. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau said on Feb. 17 he hoped for a quick and peaceful resolution to the blockade, which has had a significant impact on the economy.

Trump lifts penalties on 11 individuals

President Trump **pardoned or commuted the sentences of 11 people convicted of white collar crimes** on Feb. 18. They included ex-Illinois Governor Rod Blagojevich, who was serving a 14-year sentence for corruption; financier Michael Milken, convicted of securities fraud; and ex-NYC police commissioner Bernard Kerik.

GOOD QUESTION

Can a White House envoy deliver Afghan peace for Trump?

FOR MORE THAN A YEAR, U.S. ENVOY ZALMAY Khalilzad has been trying to negotiate an end to the 18-year war in Afghanistan. Now Khalilzad, or Zal, as he's widely known, is confident he's on the brink of inking an elusive peace deal between Washington and the militant group that sheltered al-Qaeda terrorists while they plotted the attacks of 9/11.

If he succeeds, Zal will deliver a pivotal election-year victory for his boss, President Donald Trump, who has long pledged to end America's involvement in “endless wars.” If he fails, the U.S. will remain mired in the longest war in American history, a conflict that has killed more than 3,500 U.S. and NATO troops, cost the U.S. government nearly \$900 billion, and left more than 100,000 Afghan casualties and millions more displaced.

Khalilzad's allies say the Afghan-born diplomat is a wily and skillful dealmaker who brings a rare combination of regional experience, ambition, charisma and healthy cynicism to the job. But his detractors in Washington worry that he'll say anything to anybody to get the key players to sign off on a deal for Trump, whether or not it's built to last.

At its core, Khalilzad's deal offers this basic bargain: the Taliban will reduce its violent attacks on U.S. and Afghan troops, and the U.S. will withdraw much of its forces from the country. Talks between the Taliban, Afghan

officials and other Afghan parties will determine the future shape of the country and the militants' role in it. On Feb. 14, U.S. officials said the Taliban committed to a seven-day “reduction in violence” to show it's serious, but its leaders won't publicly agree to Washington's demand of keeping U.S. counterterrorism forces in Afghanistan.

To get past that roadblock, Khalilzad has come up with a rickety work-around. The deal contains secret annexes, according to three people familiar with the draft: an agreement for U.S. counterterrorism forces to stay in Afghanistan for now; details of a Taliban denunciation of terrorism and violent extremism; a mechanism to monitor the semi-truce while talks between warring Afghan parties proceed; and details on how the CIA will operate in Taliban-controlled areas. The State Department and Khalilzad's office declined to comment on those annexes, and a Taliban official has insisted they are just “rumors.”

The fragile deal could be signed by the end of February—if everyone stays on board. Taliban leaders could refuse to work with Afghan President Ashraf Ghani, who on Feb. 18 was declared the winner of September's disputed presidential election. Taliban fighters could break the weeklong “cease-fire” in reaction to their leaders' agreeing to allow some U.S. forces to stay behind. Or Trump could tap out a damaging tweet—and send his envoy back to the negotiating table.

For Zal, it would be the deal of a lifetime. And for the Afghan generation that has grown up during the war, the stakes couldn't be higher. —KIMBERLY DOZIER

CRIME

Bungled burglaries

Two burglars who broke into a London LGBT bookstore lingered long enough to get caught in the kitchen **drinking prosecco**, reports emerged on Feb. 13. Here, other thwarted thefts. —Suyin Haynes



HANGING AROUND

In 2011, a burglar in China's Liaoning province tried to climb through a fifth-floor window into an apartment, but got stuck dangling above the street. Firefighters rescued him before handing him over to police.

CAR CALAMITY

A suspected car thief in Pretoria, South Africa, was caught when an auto-lock system trapped him inside the car he was trying to rob in 2014, reportedly imprisoning him for over an hour and a half before the owner returned.

IDENTITY ISSUE

In March 2019, police accused a Montana man of breaking into a bike shop and stealing some sunglasses and a bicycle. He left his wallet and state-issued ID behind, making it easy to track him down.

Milestones

DIED

Good Times actor, singer and composer **Ja'Net DuBois**, at 74, at her California home, her family said on Feb. 18.

ANNOUNCED

On Feb. 18 that *Saturday Night Live* cast member Kenan Thompson would host and that Netflix comedian Hasan Minhaj would be the featured entertainer at the **White House Correspondents' Dinner** on April 25.

PLEDGED

\$10 billion, on Feb. 17, by Amazon CEO Jeff Bezos, the richest person in the world, **to fight climate change**. It's roughly 8% of Bezos' wealth.

EXTENDED

The working vacation visas of any visitors to Australia who **stay to help wildfire recovery efforts** on affected farms. The six-month visas have been extended to one year.

ANNOUNCED

New post-Brexit immigration rules, by the U.K., on Feb. 19. From 2021, the new system **requires foreign workers to pass an English test**. Applicants to "shortage" jobs or those paid more than £25,600 (\$33,170) will be prioritized. Businesses said the move could hurt the economy.

STOLEN

Six hundred rolls of toilet paper, on Feb. 17, in a **knifepoint robbery in Hong Kong**, which is experiencing a shortage due to panic buying related to the ongoing coronavirus outbreak.



A boy scout wears a sash displaying his earned merit badges at a ceremony in New York City in 2015

DECLARED

Boy Scouts' bankruptcy *Barraged by sex-abuse lawsuits*

THOUSANDS OF MEN WHO SAY THEY WERE SEXUALLY ABUSED AS boy scouts may finally get restitution, though likely not in the form of a large payout. The Boy Scouts of America filed for bankruptcy protection on Feb. 18, meaning accusers will watch the once hallowed organization collapse, at least in its current form, under the weight of claims that the Scouts enabled generations of pedophiles.

"It's not about the money," says James Kretschmer, 56, who has lived for 44 years with the memory of his Scoutmaster crawling into his sleeping bag and sexually abusing him. "It's crucial that the world sees how widespread this was." Since the January 2019 revelation that 12,254 children had reported experiencing sexual abuse in the Boy Scouts from 1944 to 2016, the organization has faced a deluge of lawsuits—so many that their insurance companies have refused to continue making payouts, arguing that the Boy Scouts could have reasonably prevented the widespread sexual abuse. Kretschmer is among 1,900 survivors planning to make a claim in bankruptcy court against the Boy Scouts. Though the Boy Scouts' assets exceed \$1 billion, its significant debts and the sheer number of claims mean payouts will likely be minimal.

Advocates are urging victims to come forward before the chance expires: a court will set a deadline, likely one to two years from now, for individuals to file claims. After that time, no one will ever be able to sue the Boy Scouts for abuse again. Accuser Gil Gayle, 58, says the bankruptcy filing could mean many allegations will never be heard. "That wave of dread and anxiety is just too overwhelming for a lot of people." —ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

DIED

Caroline Flack *U.K. flash point*

CAROLINE FLACK, A BRITISH TV presenter best known for her work hosting the popular reality show *Love Island*, died by suicide on Feb. 15 at her London home. She was 40.

Ahead of the premiere of the show's sixth run in January, Flack stepped down from her role after being charged with assaulting her boyfriend. Flack pleaded not guilty and was awaiting trial in March. After her death, her management criticized prosecutors for orchestrating a "show trial," saying she had endured "significant distress" because of the allegations—and how they were sensationalized by the British press. Flack had long been a tabloid fixture, and her death prompted calls for newspapers to stop publishing invasive stories dissecting celebrities' private lives.

On Feb. 17, during a televised tribute, *Love Island*'s narrator remembered Flack's "passion, warmth and infectious enthusiasm" for the show. "My only hope is that we can all try and be kinder," he added. But in a culture of relentless tabloid and social-media scrutiny, few expect kindness to prevail.

—ALEX REES





Your brain knows the meds you need

By Mandy Oaklander

SEEKING OUT HELP FOR DEPRESSION IS hard enough. It doesn't make things any easier that it can take weeks, months or longer of trying different treatments to find something that works. Antidepressants can take at least four weeks to start working, and research has shown that only about 30% of patients respond well to the first drug they're prescribed. "Right now, treatment selection is purely based on trial and error," says Dr. Madhukar Trivedi, a professor at the University of Texas Southwestern Medical Center.

But promising new research published in February in *Nature Biotechnology* suggests that a simple brain test, paired with artificial intelligence (AI), can help. Trivedi and a team of researchers took data from a previous study in which more than 200 people with depression had an electroencephalogram (EEG)—a noninvasive test that records brain waves—and were then given either sertraline (a widely prescribed antidepressant marketed as Zoloft) or a placebo for eight weeks. They then created a machine-learning algorithm to analyze the EEG data, which found that 65% of study participants who shared a particular brain-wave signature also showed a strong response to sertraline. This, says

Dr. Amit Etkin, one of the paper's authors and a professor at Stanford University, is "far better" than using clinical factors to try to guess whether they will respond well to a drug.

The researchers also applied the AI algorithm to data from a separate study in which people had EEG testing before undergoing transcranial magnetic stimulation (TMS), a brain-stimulation technique to treat depression. They found that people who were not expected to respond well to sertraline, based on their brain waves, tended to have positive responses to TMS.

Though this research is still preliminary, "these are exciting results," says Michele Ferrante, the computational-psychiatry program director at the National Institute of Mental Health, which funded the research. "This EEG lab test is quick"—it takes just a few minutes—"cost-effective, and its outcome is of high clinical impact." The next step is to conduct clinical trials in which AI suggests a treatment based on the patient's EEG patterns "to see if these results hold true." Etkin believes that in five years, his team's prediction tool will be in clinical use.

As a personalized approach to depression emerges, thanks to AI, Trivedi hopes people will be more inclined to seek and stick with treatment. "It gives patients a lot more confidence in the treatments that they are being provided," he says. "That improves their ability to stay with that treatment until they get better. We are not shooting in the dark." □

SLEEP

Don't believe everything you've heard about blue light

Conventional wisdom says exposure to blue light—the type emitted by electronic-device screens—is bad for sleep because it messes with circadian rhythms. But in December, researchers reported in *Current Biology* that yellow light actually disturbed sleep more than blue light in mice. While animal studies often do not translate directly to human behavior, the research brought awareness to an argument that sleep experts have been quietly making for years.

"Blue light has become the gluten of the sleep world," says Dr. Cathy Goldstein, a sleep specialist at Michigan Medicine. That is, it may be a potential trigger for health issues, but its impact has been blown way out of proportion. Spectrum of light isn't all that matters: "You can't have your blue-light filter on, and then have your phone or your tablet at maximal brightness," and expect to drift right off with no problem, Goldstein says. Blue-light-blocking filters on electronics may be helpful, but only if you also turn down the brightness and avoid hours of aimless scrolling, she adds.

—Jamie Ducharme

LOVE YOUR HEART

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String theorist **Brian Greene** wants to help you understand the cold, cruel universe

By **Jeffrey Kluger**

IF YOU'RE FEELING ALL DREAMY ABOUT THE universe, here's a pro tip: don't tell Brian Greene. That guy can chill your cosmic buzz fast. I recently swung by the office of the Columbia University theoretical physicist full of happy, giddy questions and came away pretty much empty. Is there such a thing as a natural moral order? I wondered. Not in this universe, there isn't. What about a purpose to the universe, then—the reason the whole 13.8 billion-year-old shebang with its hundreds of billions of galaxies and trillions of planets happened in the first place? Nope, Greene says, no such purpose, adding, “And that's O.K.” Maybe for *him* it is.

Surely, though, Greene will grant the existence of free will—that first item on the wish list of every freshman-year philosophy student who ever lived. Sorry, not a chance.

“Your particles are just obeying their quantum-mechanical marching orders,” Greene says. “You have no ability to intercede in that quantum-mechanical unfolding. None whatsoever.”

But here's the thing about Greene, founder of the World Science Festival; host of multiple TV series on PBS; and the author of five books, including the blockbuster *The Elegant Universe* and the just-released *Until the End of Time*: he says it all with such ebullience, such ingenuous enthusiasm, that if he told you the whole cold, amoral universe was ending tomorrow you'd roll with it the way he would—as just one more dramatic chapter in an extraordinary tale in which we all have a precious if fleeting role. That's not to say everyone embraces his cosmic view so easily.

“I'll be frank,” Greene says. “I have some students come in crying. And they say, ‘This is kind of shaking my world up,’ and I say to them, ‘That's not a bad thing. It's fine to have your world shook. The pieces may fall back in the end to where you were, and they may not.’”

On the day I saw him, the man who has made himself the master of some of the most abstruse aspects of physics—superstring theory, spatial topography—was instead being mastered by one of the more basic ones: gravity. He was struggling about on crutches, the result of two ruptured spinal disks, which can give out over time whether or not you're the kind of person who can explain the attraction between the mass of the earth and the mass of your back.

GREENE QUICK FACTS

Science as theater

Greene brought Einstein to the stage last May, with a theatrical production of the great physicist's discovery of general relativity.

And on the small screen

He has worked as a consultant on the TV series *3rd Rock From the Sun* and appeared on *The Big Bang Theory*.

Showbiz duo

Greene's wife is former ABC News producer Tracy Day, with whom he founded the World Science Festival.

When he makes his way from desk to couch, he drops down gratefully. Behind him is a whiteboard with a storm of equations written on it. The numbers and glyphs frame his face in a perfect metaphor for the impossibly complex ideas that play out in his head, then somehow emerge comprehensibly and coherently on the page.

IT'S A BUSY TIME for Greene. His World Science Festival will begin its 13th season in May in New York City and its fifth year in its satellite venue in Brisbane, Australia, in March. The Down Under version attracted a total of 700,000 visitors in its first four years. The New York edition has drawn a cumulative 2 million people and more than 40 million online views of its content.

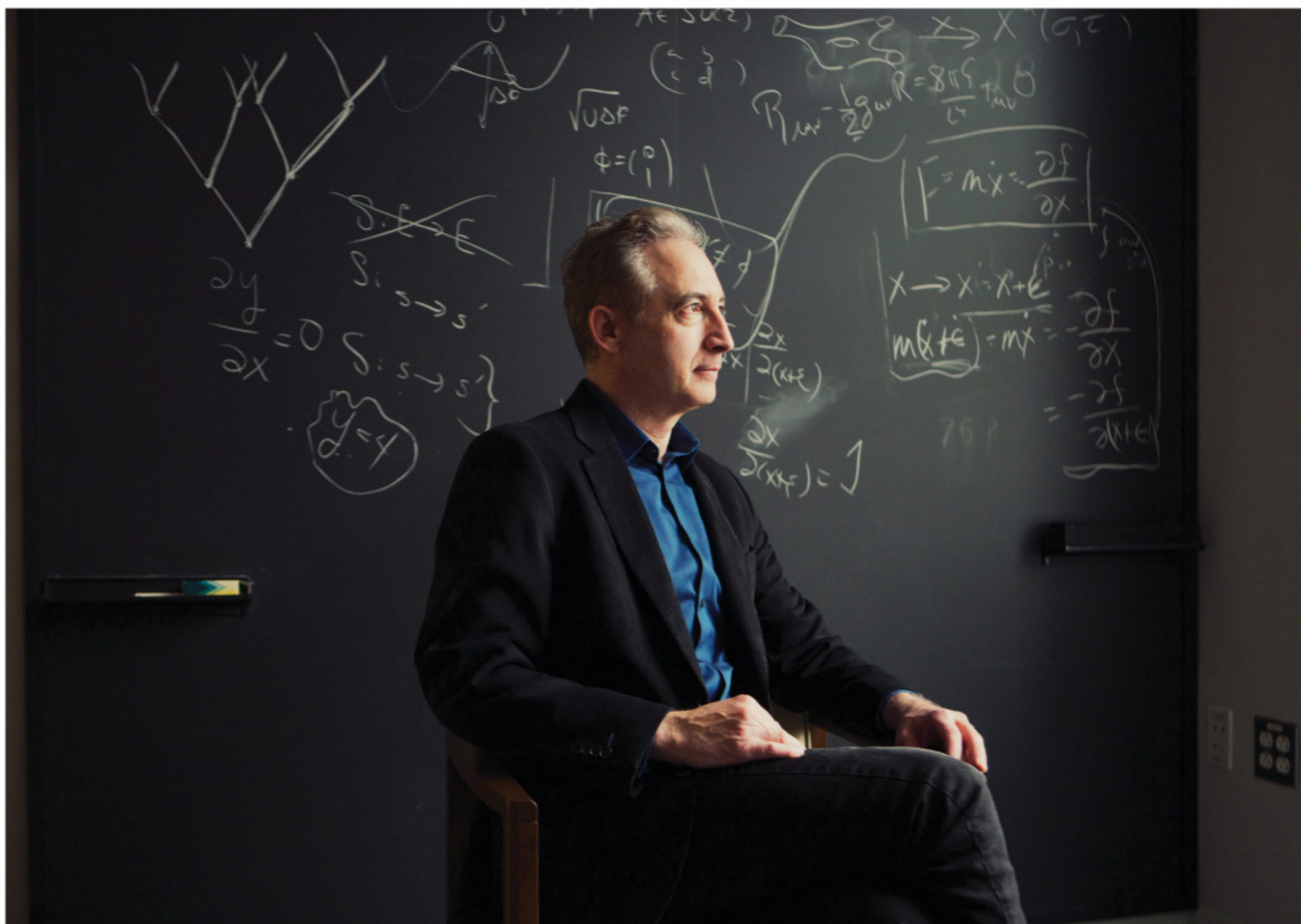
Greene, 57, is also preparing for a promotional tour for his new book, and keeps up a full schedule of teaching, holding office hours and advising graduate students. During our conversation, he mentioned that he was booked to give an evening talk on superstring theory to a gathering of the university's Society of Physics Students. It's a Friday night, a party night, but for the students and Greene, talking superstrings is a party.

“I've found that the theoretical physicists I've spent the most time with are the ones who are just enthralled by the ideas and the minutiae of an equation working out,” he says. “The only difference I have seen relative to my colleagues is I've never found pure research to be enough. I've always felt like the world is so big and rich that I need to engage with it in different ways. And that can be the books, it can be the TV shows.”

Greene comes by his love of performance rightly. His father was a vaudeville entertainer as well as a composer and voice coach. But Greene's own passion was math and science and then *big* science—the kind that seduces you with questions that both demand and defy answers, that can cross the line from science to something else entirely. Here, too, a close family member helped.

“My brother is a Hare Krishna devotee,” Greene says. “He's 13 years older than I am. When I was little and getting interested in math and physics, he'd say, ‘What are you learning?’ I'd describe the Big Bang, and he'd pull out the Vedas and read to me from them. It was a very interesting back-and-forth over the decades between the scientific pathway toward a certain kind of truth and the spiritual, religious pathway to a certain kind of truth.”

That tension plays out elegantly in Greene's new book, and to make sure no one misses the dialectic, the chapter names make it clear: “Duration and Impermanence,” “Origins and Entropy,” “Particles and Consciousness.” Greene takes one of his most powerful whacks at entropy, attacking the nettlesome business of the second law of



thermodynamics—the broad truth that all systems tend to disorder, which is often used to challenge the truth of evolution itself: that profoundly complex order can emerge from the chaos.

“I resolve that tension in Chapter 3,” Greene says, a boast that could pass as arrogant except that, well, he does resolve the tension in Chapter 3. “It relies on the force of gravity. Without gravity, everything just spreads out, diffuses, and that’s all there would be. But gravity has this wonderful capacity as a universally inward-pulling force which can undertake the following magic trick: it can pull things together, making it more orderly here, at the expense of releasing heat that makes it more disorderly out there. I call it ‘the entropic two-step.’”

There’s a lot of satisfaction in such neat solutions to head-cracking problems. But there is an equivalent neatness to the ostensibly dispiriting conclusions Greene reaches in his books and in his research: that unhappy business of a cold universe, an insentient universe, of the individual as just a quantum contraption, behaving as a product not of choice but of probabilities and randomness.

‘It’s fine to have your world shook. The pieces may fall back in the end ... and they may not.’

BRIAN GREENE,
theoretical
physicist

It’s where the free-will thing comes in: the universe is guided by quantum probabilities, and your “choices” are simply a part of that, the way a local breeze is part of the global weather system.

“My feeling is that the reductionist, materialist, physicalist approach to the world is the right one,” Greene says. “There isn’t anything else; these grand mysteries will evaporate over time.” But despite such empirical bravado, Greene says more too—and whether he likes it or not, it’s not reductionist, and if it’s written in a book like *Until the End of Time*, it could be written in the Vedas as well.

“Rather than feeling, ‘Damn, there’s no universal morality,’ ‘Damn, there’s no universal consciousness,’” he says, “how wondrous is it that I am able to have this conscious experience and it’s nothing more than stuff? That stuff can produce Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony, that stuff can produce the *Mona Lisa*, that stuff can produce *Romeo and Juliet*? Holy smokes, that’s wondrous.” The rational physicist with the deeply spiritual brother surely meant the *holy* as just a figure of speech—but if so, he picked an apt one. □



LightBox

Leader of the pack

The presidential limousine, carrying Donald and Melania Trump, circles the Daytona International Speedway before the start of the Daytona 500, in Florida, on Feb. 16. Rain postponed the race, after 20 laps, until the next day. Driver Ryan Newman was on the verge of victory on the last lap, before his car was bumped while traveling almost 200 m.p.h.; it flew through the air before landing on its roof and catching fire. Newman was taken to a local hospital. On Feb. 19, he was released; Newman left the facility holding hands with his daughters.

Photograph by Saul Loeb—Pool/AFP/Getty Images

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The View

WORLD

THE PRICE OF INACTION IN SYRIA

By Angelina Jolie

A few months into the Syrian conflict in 2011, I visited the Jordanian border at night, where shell-shocked Syrian families were crossing under cover of darkness to avoid sniper fire. A medic at the border post told me about a family who'd recently arrived. They carried with them their wounded 8-year-old son and his amputated leg. ▶

INSIDE

WHAT GERMAN ELECTIONS
MEAN FOR THE E.U.

THE HOUSTON ASTROS
RUIN SPRING TRAINING

THE WORDS MOTHERS
NEED TO HEAR

TheView Opener

His leg had been severed in an airstrike. He'd begged them to bring it with them as they fled, in the hope that it could somehow be reattached.

At the time, I hoped that stories like his might force the world's rich and mighty countries to intervene to stop the violence. But now, nearly a decade later, it strikes me as a metaphor for the Syrian conflict itself: the shattered innocence of a generation of children; the irreversible damage inflicted upon a secular, multiethnic society; and the years of pleas for help that have gone unanswered.

I've been to the Syrian region some 10 times since the conflict began. At first, the families I met were hopeful. They said, "Please, tell people what is happening to us," trusting that once the truth was known, the world would come to their rescue. But hope curdled into anger and the struggle for survival: the anger of the father who held his baby up to me, asking, "Is this a terrorist? Is my son a terrorist?" and the pain of families I met who faced daily choices about which of their children would get scarce food and medicine.

We've seen countless images of Syrian children asphyxiated by gas, maimed by shrapnel, drowned on the shores of Europe or—as I write—freezing to death in the cold of Syria's Idlib province. None of it has been enough to override the brutal indifference of the competing forces and interests contributing to the destruction of Syria.

Far from healing Syria's wounds, the response of some external powers has been to inflict further injuries, bloodying their hands in the process. Other countries have focused on the fight against terrorism or on the humanitarian relief effort, while the war itself has bled ever more fiercely.

Laws prohibiting the killing of civilians, the bombing of hospitals and schools, or mass rape; treaties banning the use of chemical attacks; the Responsibility to Protect pact, signed by U.N. member states; the Security Council's powers to act to stop a conflict—the U.N. Charter itself—all lie broken, unused or misused in the Syrian conflict.

Since 2014, the U.N. has been unable to count the dead in Syria. Some estimate that over half a million Syrians have died.

POLITICIANS OFTEN IMPLY that we face a choice between open-ended military and diplomatic interventions of the kind we've seen in Iraq and Afghanistan, and leaving other countries to fend for themselves, sending whatever amount of humanitarian aid we're willing to supply, and sealing ourselves off. Syria is proof that a lack of leadership and diplomacy has consequences.

It also raises fundamental questions for us as Americans: When did we stop wanting to stand up for the underdog, for the innocent, for those fighting for their human rights? And what kind of country would we be if we

abandoned that principle? There is a lot of focus in America today on self-preservation. But peace is almost always fought for hardest by those who really understand war. History shows that when we fought for the liberation of Europe in World War II, or

contributed to building the postwar global order, we did so for our own interests—and we reaped the benefits. When America was attacked on 9/11, many countries made common cause with us because we had earned their friendship.

We're watching the brutal endgame of the war in Syria as if it has little to do with us. But it does. We should be using our diplomatic power to insist on a cease-fire and a negotiated peace based on at least some measure of political participation, accountability and the conditions for the safe return of refugees.

The alternative is that Syria stands as an infamous new reference point for the brutality and destruction that it is possible to inflict with impunity upon a civilian population—and it will fall on the already loaded shoulders of the next generation to rebuild a shattered international system.

Jolie, a TIME contributing editor, is an Academy Award-winning actor and special envoy of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. Her views are her own



Syrian civilians flee Idlib on Feb. 13

SHORT READS

► Highlights from stories on time.com/ideas

Silence breaker

After Susan Fowler's blog post about sexual harassment at Uber went viral, it seemed at first as if people had listened and she would walk away unscathed. But, she writes in her new book *Whistleblower*, **"I was soon jolted out of my daydream, and I awakened into a nightmare."**

Principles of justice

After President Trump tweeted that he has the right to intervene in criminal cases, former U.S. Attorney Joyce White Vance watched to see what Attorney General William Barr would do. When he said nothing, she called on Barr to resign. **"Silence in the face of so egregious a claim signals agreement,"** she writes.

Future of war

The 2021 White House budget calls for \$740.5 billion for the Department of Defense, but according to TIME contributor and retired Admiral James Stavridis, it doesn't go far enough in addressing emerging needs. **"At heart, it follows a conservative philosophy of clinging to what is known and comfortable,"** he writes.

THE RISK REPORT

What Germany's election bumps may mean for the E.U.

By Ian Bremmer



ON FEB. 10, ANNEGRET Kramp-Karrenbauer, the head of Angela Merkel's Christian Democratic Union (CDU)—and presumptive heir

to the chancellorship—announced that she would be resigning as party leader, a position she narrowly won just over a year ago. AKK, as she is known, was Merkel's preferred successor; the announcement marks the true end of the Merkel era. That should worry Europe a lot more than it does Germany.

AKK's short tenure as head of the CDU was marked by a number of unforced errors, and she never found traction among the German populace. But the final straw that forced AKK to step aside was the decision of the local CDU chapter in Thuringia to ignore her order to refrain from voting alongside the far-right Alternative for Germany (AfD) to elect a leader to the state parliament. That violated the long-standing agreement of establishment German parties to refuse to work with the far right, forcing Merkel to step in. There was no recovering from that—AKK bowed out.

It is tempting to blame AKK for not being the same caliber of political operator as Merkel. But AKK also had the bad luck to be the one responsible for uniting a CDU split by the issue of refugees, a division laid bare by Merkel's 2015 announcement that Germany would take in more than a million.

The race to succeed AKK is on; among the front runners to replace her are Health Minister Jens Spahn and Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia Armin Laschet, as well as the runner-up in last year's CDU contest, Friedrich Merz.

BUT THE REALITY is that Germany doesn't change all that much if it's AKK at the helm of the CDU or somebody else.

Nearly 70% of Germans continue to have a favorable opinion of the E.U., and roughly 70% also believe their economy has been strengthened by the economic integration of Europe. As the fourth richest country in the world—and one of the least corrupt—it has social safety nets that work.

This is not to say Germany is immune to the antiestablishment push sweeping through other advanced industrial democracies lately. But unlike most others

grappling with the phenomenon, Germany's electorate isn't running to the political extremes in droves (though the recent rise of AfD is worth monitoring); instead, they are opting for parties like the Greens, who represent a break from traditional German politics but remain firmly within the pro-E.U. fold. There are plenty of countries that wish they had these problems.

But German leadership matters for many more people than just Germans. For

the better part of her nearly 15 years in power, Merkel has made German leadership indispensable to the functioning of the E.U., especially in times of crisis. That has meant everything from standing up to Vladimir Putin over his land grab of Ukraine to shepherding along an unpopular Greek bailout needed to keep the euro-zone crisis under control. Even that 2015 refugee decision that cost Merkel so dearly domestically was critical as leverage to govern the E.U. as a whole. For the past decade, every time the Europeans have come to an existential crossroads, it has been Merkel who has shown them the way forward.

The next German Chancellor won't be Angela Merkel, and won't have near the political capital to take the difficult European decisions that she made. At a time of U.S. retrenchment, U.K. dysfunction and growing global instability, Germany will be fine no matter whom the CDU selects. The E.U. is another matter. □

For the past decade, every time the Europeans have come to an existential crossroads, it has been Merkel who has shown them the way forward

BASEBALL

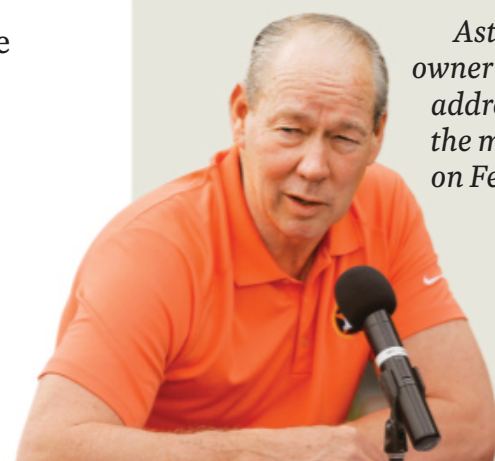
A season of Astros anger

Spring training is truly an occasion for optimism. When players report to camp in February, warmer weather feels closer. No team owns a losing record. Happy thoughts abound.

Not this year, since the Houston Astros are set to spoil the baseball season.

Houston had already given away all goodwill. In January, an investigation found that the team took part in an electronic espionage scheme to steal the signs of opponents in 2017 and 2018. Then, in a universally panned Feb. 13 press conference, Houston owner Jim Crane argued that the Astros' cheating didn't impact the outcome of any games. He contradicted himself less than a minute later. Picking up on Houston's remorse was difficult when you're almost in awe of the doublespeak.

Opposing players lashed out at the Astros and MLB commissioner Rob Manfred, who hasn't stripped Houston of its 2017 World Series title or punished any players. The Astros could have owned their errors and begged for forgiveness. Instead, all Houston can do is prepare for a season of jeers. —Sean Gregory



Astros owner Crane addresses the media on Feb. 13

TheView Parenting



When Mom needs to hear that it's O.K. not to be O.K.

By Lori Fradkin

I HAD MADE IT AS FAR AS THE STREET CORNER WHEN IT occurred to me that I hadn't paid. I'd said goodbye to my friends at the restaurant and walked out. When I returned, embarrassed and apologetic, one friend mentioned that another had asked if I was O.K.

"Of course she's not O.K.," she had answered. "She has a 4-month-old."

That 4-month-old was the reason I had to get home. I needed to pump—for the fourth or fifth time that day—and then I needed to go to bed as soon as I could, for however long I could, before attempting to look like a pulled-together professional for work the next morning.

My husband and I had joked about how easy that week would be. Our older son was away with his grandparents, which meant we had just one kid to take care of. Naturally, that was the week the baby had a sleep regression. Every night, I sat in the glider for hours at a time trying to nurse him back to sleep, only to set his swaddled little body in the crib and have him start crying again.

I had been back at work for just over a month, trying to prove myself to a new boss. I was pumping before going to the office, interrupting my day multiple times to hook myself up to tubes and suction, and then doing it again at night. I was also trying to be an attentive mom to a toddler who loved his baby brother but had ordered me at least once to put him "back in your tummy."

Of course she's not O.K.

I knew I was exhausted, sometimes overwhelmed. Yet my friend's comment was revelatory. I gave birth with no complications. I had reliable childcare. I wasn't experiencing postpartum sadness or anxiety. I was checking things off my

list at work, albeit sometimes because I was finishing them in the evening. I'd also done this before. But as soon as my friend said it, I felt relief. *Of course.* Those two words, so matter-of-fact, validated an experience I didn't fully realize I was having.

IF YOU ASK whether a woman has "bounced back" after pregnancy, people know what you mean: Has she, after carrying and delivering a baby, returned to her previous size and shape? The question is not just shallow, it's lazy, focusing on what can be ascertained with a glance. Less discussed—and harder to answer—is whether a new mom has "bounced back" in other ways. Between changing hormones, erratic sleep and trying to keep alive a brand-new human while relying on trial, error and Google, what does O.K. even mean? But unspoken as it may be, the expectation for many women is that at a time when you're just trying to hold it all together, you must somehow figure out how to pick up where you left off.

Some of the pressure is societal: for women fortunate enough to have time off, once you go back to work, you're right back in it. The fact that your baby is cluster-feeding or staging a sleep strike is not really an excuse for missing a deadline. But the haze of new motherhood has a way of warping your own perception of what you should be able to handle. When getting through the day requires a certain amount of autopilot (and coffee), there's not a ton of time to reflect on what caring for a new life while meeting the demands of your own is doing to you.

With a passing comment, my friend helped me see my own situation more clearly. Now when friends with young babies confess that they're struggling, even though they're getting back into a routine, even though nothing is technically wrong, I tell them about the night I accidentally dined and dashed.

Sometimes we need someone to assure us that things are going to be O.K. Other times what we really need to hear is that in that moment, they're not supposed to be.

At a time when you're just trying to hold it all together, you must somehow figure out how to pick up where you left off



**STACK IT.
BUILD IT.
MIX IT UP.**



World

Jacinda Ardern's Next Big Test

THE NEW ZEALAND PRIME MINISTER EARNED
INTERNATIONAL ACCLAIM FOR HER LEADERSHIP IN THE FACE OF TRAGEDY.
NOW SHE HAS TO PERSUADE HER COUNTRY TO KEEP THE FAITH

By Belinda Luscombe

*Ardern in her
Auckland electoral
office on Feb. 7*



H

HISTORY CAME FAST AT JACINDA ARDERN. Just a few years ago, in 2017, having been a local Member of Parliament for a matter of months, she became a Hail Mary candidate for Prime Minister, a millennial woman thrown into an election at the last minute to resurrect the fortunes of her slumping party in a Pacific Island nation of 4.8 million people. With a mere seven weeks left in the campaign, she put together enough votes and allies to form a government. She officially became her country's leader around the same time she learned she was pregnant with her first child. In the past year, she has been confronted with a mass shooting committed by a far-right extremist, a suddenly active and deadly volcano and, most recently, a global virus that originated in her nation's most important trading partner.

Nearly any of those would have been enough to capsize an experienced captain with a crack crew of advisers, let alone a rookie with an untested team whose platform was built on kindness, acceptance and inclusion. But Arden's deft and quietly revolutionary management of these crises, especially the Christchurch shootings, got noticed around the globe. Her gender and youth (she's 39) were always going to make her stand out in a field dominated mainly by old gray men. Those attributes, however, are just the wrapping. Arden's real gift is her ability to articulate a form of leadership that embodies strength and sanity, while also pushing an agenda of compassion and community—or, as she would put it, “pragmatic idealism.”

Her response to the events of the past 12 months has propelled her to the kind of global prominence none of her predecessors enjoyed while in office. She has been named one of the most powerful women internationally, mentioned in connection with a Nobel Peace Prize and profiled in glossy media around the world. “Wherever I go,” says the actor Sam Neill, another

of New Zealand's more globally celebrated human resources, “people say, ‘You think we could have Jacinda this week? Could we just borrow her for a while?’”

Now her challenge is to prove this new style of leadership can get meaningful results, ahead of general elections in September. In other countries, voters have been drawn to strongmen and salesmen, wooed by the promise of simple answers to complex questions. People have lost trust in their institutions, whether they be government, media, organized religion or the scientific community. When voters feel powerless and disenfranchised, Arden told *TIME* in an interview in her modest Auckland electoral office on Feb. 7, “we can either stoke it with fear and blame, or we can respond to it by taking some responsibility and giving some hope that our democratic institutions, our politicians, actually can do something about what they're feeling.”

BY FAR THE BIGGEST TEST of Arden's leadership arrived on March 15 last year, when an Australian gunman shot dead 51 worshippers at two mosques in Christchurch. As well as killing New Zealand citizens, the shooter murdered nationals from Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, India and Egypt among other places. Arden was in a van on the way to a school in the coastal town of New Plymouth and had just picked up the local mayor (she likes to carpool). Their conversation was interrupted when her press secretary handed her a call from the Police Minister. The van spun around and headed for a local police station, where she—and a PR person on her third day of work—were stashed in an upper room as the situation unfolded.

Between calls, Arden began to scribble thoughts on scraps of paper. “I just

*Ardern made
the case that kindness
was a strength,
compassion was
actionable, and
inclusion was possible*



remember feeling this overwhelming sense of, here are people who've made New Zealand their home,” she says. “Regardless of whether someone had been in New Zealand for a generation or whether or not they moved here a year ago, this was their home, and they should have been safe and they should have been able to worship here, and that was when I wrote down those words: they are us.”

She called Grant Robertson, her Finance Minister and one of her closest advisers, and ran her thinking by him. After an hour, she went back to her rural hotel, and the ingredients for a national broadcast—a large event space, two cameras, a single table with black tablecloth—were hastily assembled. “I walked into this big empty room and sat down at this table and tried to convey a message.”



That message, and her authentic embrace of New Zealand's Muslim community, resonated around the world at a time when many nations are defined more by the abundance of dividing lines than the boldness of their unity. When she then wore a headscarf to visit a mosque in Wellington, the images hit screens from Dar es Salaam to Dublin.

Her demonstration that during a crisis it is possible to lead without telegraphing aggression or playing on anxieties was a beacon in a world where the kinds of principles Ardern champions seem to be on the wane. She made a plausible case that kindness was a strength, compassion was actionable, and inclusion was possible. "I think this whole model of leadership that says you've got to be tough, and tough means you can't be kind, is just wrong,"

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*"I just still feel a closeness to the people
 I'm meant to be representing," says
 Ardern, shown here visiting a school in July*

says Robertson. "And she's showing that."

Ardern claims she was at first unaware of her impact, because she was focused on more immediate problems. "I can't overstate how difficult I found the victim-identification process," she says. She knew that Islamic tradition calls for burial within 24 hours of death, which would clash with crime-scene protocols. "I felt that pressure every single hour that we still had those loved ones' bodies in the state's care." When she arrived at Christchurch, the communication between the police and families was already agitated, as people clamored for access to

their relatives' remains before forensics had been performed. "I remember just asking people if they could sit. And we had silence for a moment, and then I just tried to talk it through."

While allowing room for the nation to mourn, Ardern was moving swiftly on other fronts. Within days, she had proposed and passed New Zealand's first meaningful gun legislation in decades; only one member of Parliament voted against it. "It was definitely heartening to see how quickly she and her administration acted," says Shannon Watts of Moms Demand Action, a U.S. nonprofit group advocating for gun-safety legislation. "It was a very important lesson across the world that we don't have to live like this."

Ardern also made a point of never saying the shooter's name, which jolted a lot

World

of media outlets into following suit. The attacker had live-streamed his actions on Facebook. The video and an 87-page white-nationalist “manifesto” were up for hours and widely shared. But Ardern resisted the temptation to push through or call for regulations on tech companies. “I was mindful that we were going to be able to have a greater impact if we actually started some dialogue.”

The worried tech giants’ government handlers put in pre-emptive calls explaining what they were doing and asking if she wanted to meet. Ardern let them flap in the wind for a few weeks, she says, while formulating a strategy. Sometimes it’s handy to be world famous. She had discussions with such leaders as Germany’s Angela Merkel and France’s Emmanuel Macron, who had started looking at the tech companies after the 2015 Paris attacks, which included a mass shooting at the Bataclan theater.

She also talked to Microsoft president Brad Smith about what might be possible. “And yeah, I called and spoke directly to [Facebook’s] Mark Zuckerberg, [YouTube’s] Susan Wojcicki, [Twitter’s] Jack Dorsey, you know—I just called around,” she says. “Some tech companies might have questioned whether or not it was relevant to them—we asked quite a wide range of companies to be involved. But there was no one who was adverse or opposed to the principles of what we were trying to do.”

Exactly two months after the shooting, the world at large got to see what Ardern, Macron and their team had come up with: the Christchurch Call, a meeting of heads of state and tech companies in Paris to commit to prevent the spreading of online terrorist and violent extremist content. It offers the famously competitive, secretive and regulation-averse tech companies an avenue for working together and collaborating with governments to shut down their information hoses if they start spewing something toxic. The commitments are voluntary, but Ardern noted that the response to a shooting at a synagogue in Halle, Germany, in October seemed to suggest the protocols were starting to make a difference. Twitch, the platform on which that attack was live-streamed, said the footage had been viewed live by five people and then seen by 2,200 others before the company took it down. Similarly, the



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Ardern’s partner Clarke Gayford holds their daughter Neve as her mother addresses the U.N. in September 2018

attempted live-streaming of a gunman’s attack in Thailand on Feb. 8 of this year was shut down within four hours.

“The Christchurch Call was a step change in how governments, industry, and civil society collaborate,” said Nick Pickles, head of global public-policy strategy at Twitter, in a statement that also highlighted Ardern’s “willingness to convene honest and sometimes difficult conversations” as a key factor in its success.

Ardern is also helping to oversee the expansion of the scope and size of a group that had already been set up by some of the larger social-media networks to reckon with the influence of ISIS online. The Global Internet Forum to Counter Terrorism (GIFCT) will coordinate between governments and the networks to study, respond to and prevent extremist and terrorist activity on the sharing platforms. “I feel responsible for that,” says Ardern. “That’s not to say this started from zero, it did not. The work that Jordan had done was really critical. And equally the likes of the U.K. and France. But I do think that the

GIFCT will be a fundamentally different body because of the Christchurch Call.”

New Zealand isn’t the first country to have a mass shooting, or even a mass shooting that goes viral. But Ardern was the first to move enough chess pieces among the public, governments and industry to offer the beginnings of a coherent international response to a problem against which traditional power structures have proved ineffective.

ARDERN WAS ALREADY a figure of global interest, thanks to her age, gender and baby, but her sure-footedness after a disaster of that magnitude really pushed her into the spotlight. Though she claims, possibly to reassure her constituents, to be focused like a zoom lens on local issues, she’s not opposed to using her international following to bring some heat to her policy priorities. She was the first world leader to come to the U.N. General Assembly with a baby, Neve, who both stoked the media interest in her speech and served as a nifty visual aid for her contention that as far as the climate was concerned, time was running out.

Her view of the current global political climate is driven by her view of inclusion. She believes the upsurge in populism and extremism is a reaction to the



same forces to which she is responding. “If I look around the world at what has given rise to some of those movements, and these leaders that we may not have expected to find power, I don’t think we should be cynical about the origins of that,” she says. “People are feeling either disenfranchised or like they are just struggling to survive and that their democracies haven’t heard that.”

New Zealand, as Sam Neill says affectionately, “is tiny, obscure and remote.” Its chief export, milk in some form, is not the kind of commodity nations fight over. A country with its attributes has two methods for making itself heard on foreign policy: joining forces with others and modeling the behavior it wants. Ardern has done the former, signing several multilateral treaties with such like-minded nations as Norway, Iceland and Fiji to fight climate change and discourage nukes, but it’s the latter that comes most naturally to her.

“It is very important for New Zealand that the only kind of leadership that we can offer globally is moral,” says Bronwyn Hayward, a professor of political science and international relations at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch. “When you have particular individuals who can harness the moral voice with authenticity and sincerity,

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“China sees in New Zealand a sincere friend and cooperation partner,” Chinese President Xi Jinping said in April

that becomes a very powerful moment.”

New Zealand has several claims to setting moral precedents. Famously, it was the first country to give women the vote—Ardern is its third female national leader—the first to introduce some form of social security for its elderly and the first to ban vessels carrying nuclear weapons from entering its waters.

Ardern has tried to continue this example-setting trend when forming foreign policy. While Australia has been mired in a crisis over the migrant workers to whom it has denied entry and detained on islands off its coast, Ardern has said New Zealand would take 150 of them. Starting this year, she raised the number of refugees her country would accept by 50%. And she has refocused some of New Zealand’s attention on its near neighbors in the Pacific (her father, a former police officer, is a diplomat in the region), offering \$150 million to help those on smaller islands deal with rising sea levels.

But many of these are little more than symbolic gestures. She probably knew Australia would ignore her offer, fearing

it would set up a backdoor entry for the migrants. New Zealand’s new refugee intake is still only 1,500. Sweden, with about double New Zealand’s population, took 23,000 in 2018.

When dealing with larger neighbors, New Zealand is at an obvious power disadvantage. Take China, for example; New Zealand was the first country to support China’s inclusion in the World Trade Organization, and in 2008 became the first Western country to sign a free-trade agreement with it. But it rejected Chinese telecom giant Huawei’s first application to provide some of its 5G infrastructure. Giving it the green light after it tries again might anger the U.S., which has called on all its allies to deny Huawei access for security reasons. But refusal could be bad for its most significant trading relationship. Officially the position is that Huawei is welcome to rejigger its offer so it meets New Zealand’s regulations, and then reapply. The coronavirus has already revealed the extent to which New Zealand’s economic health is tied to China’s; in February, Ardern’s government had to relax some regulations on New Zealand’s lobster industry when Chinese New Year celebrations were scaled back, and start a plan for how best to prop up its timber industry as supply chains were disrupted.

World

However, Ardern has infused New Zealand with a new kind of soft power. When she visited the U.K. to meet Queen Elizabeth II, who is still New Zealand's head of state, she wore a *kahu huruhuru*, a feathered cloak bestowed by Maoris on people of honor. Lots of world leaders try the trick of celebrating a nation's first peoples by donning the local dress. But Ardern, visibly pregnant at the time, didn't wear her gift with the awkwardness of Western leaders who show up at local photo shoots in guayaberas or floral headdresses. She rocked it. "Other countries want to be associated with what she represents," says Hayward. "That's what's unusual. She's not having to ask for the time. The doors are opened because it's helpful for other leaders to be associated with her."

Ardern claims that she has not set out to make her personal life political, but is merely trying to be open and human. Yet after she became only the second woman in the modern era to have a baby while leading a country (Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan was the other), she and her partner Clarke Gayford—a celebrity TV fisherman—arranged their family life in the most obvious yet surprising way possible; he is the primary childcare provider, with other relatives subbing in. Ardern is at pains to note that this domestic situation was organized for practical purposes and not to make a statement. "It wasn't like we sat down at the table and said, 'Well, which one of us is going to stay at home?'" she says. "That was decided." The next time the couple gets to rethink that arrangement may come on Sept. 19, the anniversary of the day New Zealand women were given the vote, and the date for which Ardern has called an election.

"KNOW US BY OUR DEEDS," Ardern tells the audience at Big Gay Out, a rally in Auckland organized by the New Zealand AIDS Foundation. Enormously popular in the rainbow community, Ardern has come to the festival to announce more funding for LGBTQI+ mental health and research and then meet some voters.

After her speech, she gets so jammed up by selfie takers and huggers that her Labour Party guide, who is wearing a red tuxedo jacket and a striped shorts-and-vest ensemble, has difficulty clearing a path alongside the drag-queen ukulele



duos and catwalk contests and military recruiters to the Labour Party's tent, where a line of about 50 young people are waiting for more selfies and hugs. It's an exuberant event among her fan base—Ardern gave up her Mormon faith partly because it conflicted with her work to advance LGBTQI+ rights.

The days ahead may not all be so sunny. It's hard to find anyone who doesn't admire her authenticity and compassion, but there's a sense among her supporters that she may have bitten off more than she

Ardern wants people to know her administration by its deeds, but it may not have successfully done enough of them

can chew and among her opponents that her government has failed on most of its promises. Ardern wants people to know her administration by its deeds, but it may not have successfully done enough of them to have earned their trust. Polls suggest that the Nationals will draw 46% of the votes, Labour 41% and the Greens 5%, which puts them neck and neck. But 46% of people would opt for Ardern as Prime Minister and only 11% her opponent.

It's not as if Ardern's government has sat on its hands: the minimum wage has risen from \$15.75 to \$17.70 in local currency, and will reach \$18.90 in April. Teachers and nurses, among others, got a raise. Ardern introduced a well-being budget, so that any project requiring funding has to demonstrate how it makes people's lives better. Paid parental leave was increased from 18 weeks to 22 weeks. Almost 150 million trees were planted.

In perhaps her boldest strike against climate change, she canceled all further offshore oil and gas exploration. "We're moving to 100% imported energy," says



Ardern at an Islamic Women's Council of New Zealand conference in Auckland in August

Auckland financier and developer James Kellow. “We used to be a net exporter of energy. That was quite a shock to business.” Apart from that, he says, the business community is content with the Labour government. “They haven’t had that big an effect on the economy because they haven’t changed that much,” he says. Unemployment is at 4% and annual GDP growth is at 2.7%, which is higher than in the U.S. and the U.K.

But Ardern finds her more ambitious dreams stymied by domestic setbacks. To deal with New Zealand’s astronomically high housing prices, Ardern promised 100,000 affordable homes in a decade and 1,000 in her first year in office, but only 47 houses later, those targets were scrapped as infeasible. As of the end of last year, 315 houses had been built. Infrastructure has also proved to

be a challenge; Labour canceled the roads projects started by the outgoing government to use the funds elsewhere, but has recently restarted them. And Ardern tried and failed to pass a capital gains tax to redress income inequality.

Most frustrating of all is the issue of children. Ardern is fond of saying she wants New Zealand to be the best place in the world to be a child. So far it just isn’t. On average, a child is killed there every five weeks. The country has the highest rate of 15- to 19-year-old suicide in the developed world. Ardern appointed herself the Minister for Child-Poverty Reduction and, while still on parental leave, announced that all families would receive a benefit of \$60 a week for the first year of a child’s life and some for three years as part of a larger Families Package. In a video from her couch, she called it “the thing I’m most proud of” since she took office.

But 2½ years into her tenure, the numbers haven’t budged. “There has been a spectacular change in emphasis that we would never have dreamed about when I arrived,” says Children’s Commissioner Andrew Becroft, who has been in the role of national watchdog for children’s rights for three years and who praises Ardern for the steps she has taken so far. “But on the statistics we have to date, we don’t have the evidence that there has been any fundamental change in the welfare of children.” There’s an 18-month lag in reporting, so he hopes to see some improvement soon. But he points to the difference in the welfare of New Zealand’s elderly, who receive government assistance indexed to economic growth, and the nation’s children, who have been disadvantaged by stagnant welfare payments. He would like the government to use the budget surplus it has been growing since 2015 to redress this imbalance. “In a sense, the growth for New Zealand has been at the expense of its most marginalized children for the last 30 years,” he says.

Ardern’s hands are tied to some extent, because her center-left party is in a coalition government with two other parties, the far-left Greens and center-right NZ First, which have their own priorities. The system relies on compromise to get things done, which can limit the rate of progress. She set a challenging target for greenhouse-gas emissions, reducing them

to net zero by 2050 but, under pressure from NZ First, had to exclude the biogenic methane produced by the agricultural industry—the country’s biggest.

Many of her supporters suggest that her party and administration have a knowledge and experience gap; before Ardern took power, the Labour Party had been in opposition for nine years. Drawing enough votes for Labour in the election could allow Ardern to form a coalition with only the Greens and have a better shot at governing the way she wants.

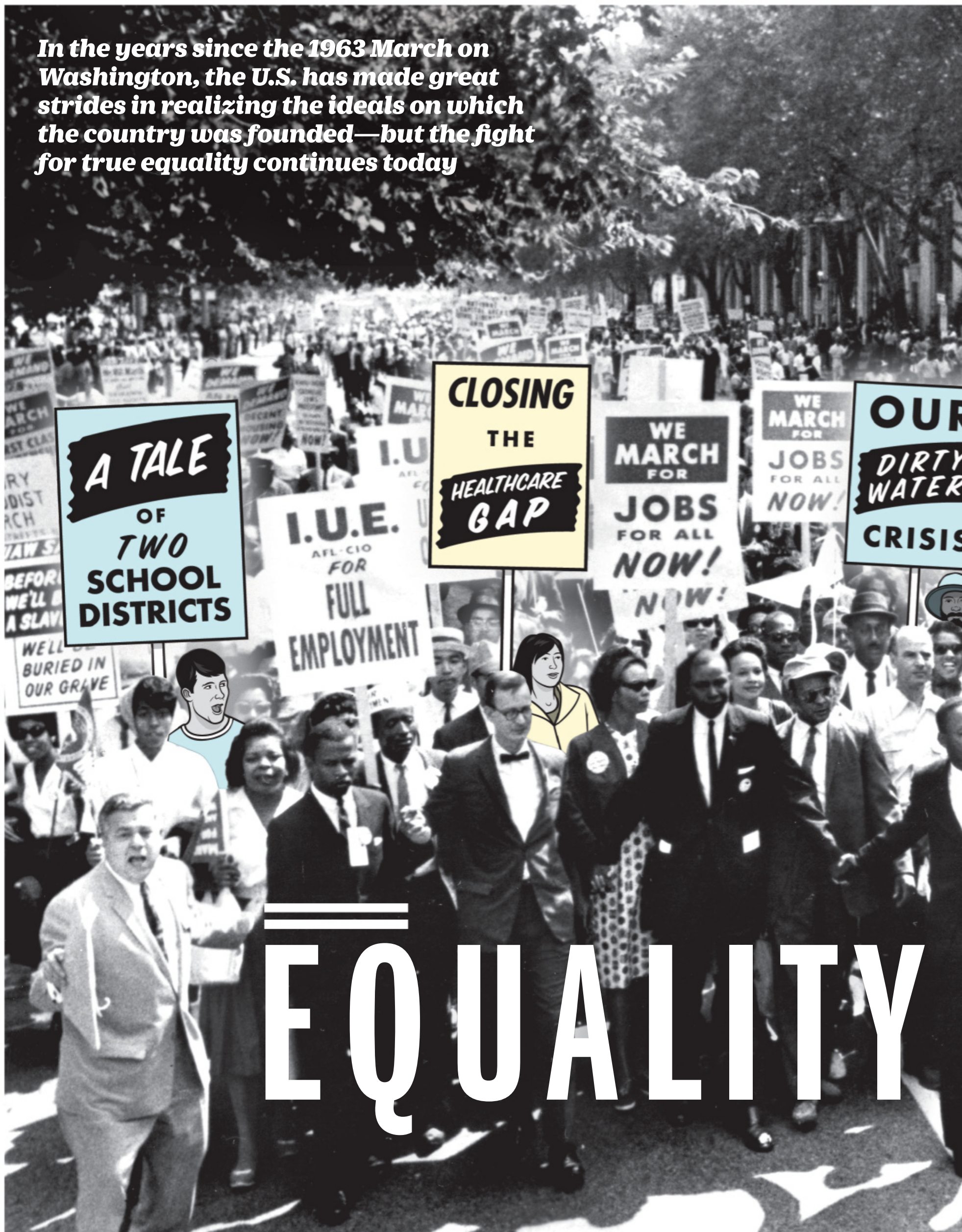
If Ardern is anxious about any of this, she doesn’t show it at a soiree for the press at the official Prime Minister’s residence in Wellington on Feb. 12. She and Gayford are dressed casually (she in sneakers, he barefoot in shorts), trying to keep their 19-month-old daughter, also in shorts, from poking all the finger food. They switch off watching over her, with an aide swooping in as needed.

At one point, Neve is allowed to bang on the grand piano, although her performance goes largely ignored. She does, however, have a surefire party trick. Ardern runs through various animals, and Neve, without removing her bottle from her mouth, imitates the noises they make. Eventually Ardern asks how adults sound. “Blah blah blah,” her daughter chants, to much laughter.

If Ardern loses the election, she will have plenty of options, including simply spending more time with the aforementioned small piano player. Robertson, the Finance Minister, sees her taking on one of the more forward-looking issues, like climate change or child poverty. Many of her antecedents went on to serve in global institutions. New Zealand’s second national female Prime Minister, Helen Clark, was head of the United Nations Development Programme and narrowly missed becoming the first female U.N. Secretary-General. Another Prime Minister, Mike Moore, was the head of the World Trade Organization. She could follow his example. In some ways, she already has. “Leadership,” Moore once said, “is more than finding an angry crowd and agreeing with it.”

Ardern says she has no idea what she will do next. “Absolutely zero plan B. But actually that’s not new,” she adds. “That’s always been my way of being. It’s probably how I’ve ended up in politics.” □

In the years since the 1963 March on Washington, the U.S. has made great strides in realizing the ideals on which the country was founded—but the fight for true equality continues today



A photo-illustration by Jameson Simpson places some of the stories in this issue in the context of the March on Washington

PHOTOGRAPH BY PHOTOQUEST/GETTY IMAGES



NOW

Survival mode

NEARLY SIX DECADES AFTER THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT, BLACK WORKERS STILL HAVE TO HUSTLE TO GET AHEAD **BY TRESSIE MCMILLAN COTTOM**

WHEN YOU TEACH ABOUT RACIAL INEQUALITY FOR A living, as I do, you have a before-and-after story. The story broadly goes that before the Civil Rights Act of 1964, racial inequality was legal and normative. After the Civil Rights Act, racial inequality is illegal but normative. It is a linear story for a decidedly circular history, where advances thanks to the March on Washington in 1963 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Lyndon Johnson's Executive Order 11246 in 1965 (or "affirmative action") and the election of President Barack Obama in 2008 have been met with resistance. We move forward, then get pushed back, forward, back.

Today it is harder than it was 60 years ago to get a bead on racial inequality because, well, it looks so much like everything else. It looks like the gentrification that displaces black people, yes, but also poor people generally. It feels like low wages when most workers' wages are stagnating. It looks like debt and tainted water and poor air quality and hustling to make ends meet when almost everyone is reckoning with financial crises, climate disaster and economic insecurity. What can be said about racial inequality in the 21st century that isn't just the story of every American? The answer is not in the nature of the problem but in the nature of the response: everyone is hustling, but everyone cannot hustle the same.

The hustle is an idea, a discourse and a survival strategy often glorified as economic opportunity. It is an ode to a type of capitalism that cannot secure the futures of anyone but the wealthiest. But its popularity lies in how hustling can *feel* like an equal-opportunity strategy. You see it espoused by the mostly black and Latino "squeegee kids" who jump into action to clean your car window. It is also the rallying cry for many of the black people who have earned a college degree but earn less than white workers doing similar jobs. The term originated as a code for illegal activities, but according to Lester Spence, author of *Knocking the Hustle: Against the Neoliberal Turn in Black Politics*, today we have all been turned into hustlers, trying to monetize our "human capital" for economic advancement.

But black Americans have to hustle more. A white family of four living at the poverty line has about \$18,000

in wealth. A black family at that threshold has negligible wealth. Everyone is hustling, but poor black Americans are literally hustling from zero. For middle-class black people, the trends aren't much better. Again, it's not just income but also wealth that reproduces racial inequalities, so being "middle class" when you are black is not nearly as secure a position as it is for other racial groups. The black middle class takes on more debt for education, earns less for their educational achievements and struggles more to repay their student loans than their white peers.

It's a hard story to tell because the images are fuzzier than they once were. The legal nature of racism before the 1960s made for material pictures of inequality: WHITES-ONLY signs. Red lines on neighborhood maps. Sharecroppers. Today racial inequality leaves more of an impression, albeit one deeply felt by black Americans, than it does a concrete picture of oppression and extraction. But the story of how we hustle, how hard we hustle and how differently we hustle adds form to the impression. Economic injustice isn't fairer because nearly everyone is hustling. The hustle itself is a site of racial inequality.

WHAT HUSTLING LOOKS LIKE in 2020 depends on who you are. To hustle, if you are working class, is to piece together multiple jobs. If you are middle class or upper class, it is discussed as "multiple revenue streams." But the goal is the same: pull together a patchwork of income in order to get ahead.

On an autumn day in 2018, I drove to Durham, N.C., for a conference

WE HAVE ALL BEEN TURNED INTO HUSTLERS, TRYING TO MONETIZE OUR 'HUMAN CAPITAL' FOR ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT. BUT BLACK AMERICANS HAVE TO HUSTLE MORE



celebrating black capitalism. A quintessentially Southern city, marked by racial histories and racist inequalities, Durham struggled in the early 1990s to find both an identity and an economic base. By the 2000s, a renaissance was taking place, one that looked a lot like the ones in similarly situated midsize urban areas across the country. The cult of quirky regional identity is remarkable for its sameness. In Durham; Pittsburgh; Louisville, Ky.; Indianapolis; or Boise, Idaho, you can find craft breweries, dog parks, clubs where you throw axes at a wall, and farm-to-table everything but especially food trucks.

The conference name, Black Wall Street: Homecoming, was a callback to the district in downtown Durham known as Black Wall Street in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, one of several economic corridors in the U.S. where black wealth was consolidated during segregation. Black-owned businesses served black customers whom white businesses either would not serve or did not serve equitably. Black Wall Street in Durham was decimated the way many such corridors were in the mid-20th century. Urban planners used federal funding for the cross-national highway system, forcibly displacing black residents and business owners. The government built a freeway through Black Wall Street.

The audience at the conference was full of enthusiastic black men and women, mostly in their 30s, 40s and 50s, who identified as entrepreneurs. Programming was organized by the kinds of buzzwords that animate the digital economy. One does not advertise, he brands. A woman with an online marketing company does not tweet or post;

she creates content. Mostly, participants wanted to get better at pitching. One conference organizer explained while infrastructure was essential to the “old way” of doing business, the new era of entrepreneurship is about developing processes and selling disruption. To help them thrive in this model of personal economic uplift, the conference encouraged black entrepreneurs to hustle in a way that white capital and consumers could understand. This was the art of the pitch.

Just over a year later, in December 2019, a North Carolina chapter of Fight for \$15—a national campaign advocating a \$15-an-hour federal minimum wage—held a forum called “Working in Durham: A People’s Hearing.” The event brought together low-wage workers, many of them black, to talk about unsafe working conditions, wage theft and the need for unions in the workplace. Person after person shared stories of working in service-sector jobs, some of the only jobs available in the area to those without a college degree. Although workers in other states have seen their paychecks go up because of state and local increases in the minimum wage, in Durham the rate

LEGAL INEQUALITY

Passengers under a sign that reads “Colored Waiting Room” at a bus station in Durham, N.C., in 1940

remains at the federal level of \$7.25 an hour. An older black man said, “You need two or three jobs just to afford housing.” A mother said that even though she earned her bachelor’s degree, she still struggled to find work, pay her rent and afford insurance. “We need more resources,” she said. “Not for a handout, but a help-up.”

Many black workers outside the middle class make up what is known as the gig economy, taking on jobs that treat them like independent contractors even though they work them like employees. In more traditional service jobs, like cashier or waitress, the hustle is created by the rise of on-demand scheduling. Technology lets employers change employee schedules quickly, which makes it difficult for workers to plan their complex lives. The hustle is especially hard on black women, who bear the brunt of child-care, elder care and mutual-aid relationships with friends and neighbors. It also makes it nearly impossible to predict one’s wages from paycheck to paycheck. Because the pay is so spiky and the work so unpredictable, many dabble in a stream of “network opportunities,” like selling diet pills or travel vouchers.

While we do not think of the middle-class pitch and the low-wage hustle as the same thing, they are responding to the same reality. For black Americans, achieving upward mobility, even in thriving cities that compete for tech jobs, private capital and national recognition, is as complicated as it was in 1963. In that economy, black Americans hustled in the face of legal racial segregation and social stigma that cordoned us off from opportunities reserved for white Americans. In 2020, black Americans can legally access the major on-ramps to opportunity—colleges, workplaces, public schools, neighborhoods, transportation, electoral politics—but despite hustling like everyone else, they do not have much to show for it.

WHILE THE HUSTLE is often valorized, black Americans have long known that it’s a raw deal. The 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom is remembered for the soaring speeches and massive turnout, but its organizing platform had a laser focus on the particular forms of hustle prescribed to black Americans at the time. The most important period of economic expansion in the 20th century took place after World War II, and black workers had been deliberately excluded—they were routinely denied low-interest loans, housing in certain neighborhoods, GI Bill benefits and access to higher education. Racial segregation turned the massive public spending and economic investment into what academics have called “affirmative action for white Americans.” Forced to hustle amid largesse, black Americans built their own social institutions to substitute for inherited wealth. They hustled in underground economies like local lotteries, but they also hustled with multiple jobs, multigenerational households and mutual-aid societies. That is why the day’s most regaled speaker, Martin Luther King Jr., framed his dream in terms of a check written to black Americans that we could not cash.

The March galvanized what we now perhaps too blithely think of as the Civil Rights Act. The landmark legislation

not only enshrined full black citizenship in the nation’s governance, it also rerouted black hustle into mainstream paths of economic inclusion. Affirmative-action policies opened up lucrative public-sector jobs that transformed the black middle class. Equal access to school funding and military benefits injected new capital into historically black colleges. Combined with integrated K-12 schools, those institutions set about remedying centuries of deliberately underutilized black educational capacity. By the 1970s, there was every reason to hope that black people could trade the hustle for actual achievement.

Achievement, measured by increases not just in economic fortunes but also the good housing and health afforded by those fortunes, should make the hustle unnecessary. Hustle is for surviving a rigged game. Achievement is for strategizing in a fair competition with clear rules, applied equally. But by the time I attended the Black Wall Street event in Durham, there was overwhelming evidence that the hustle is alive and well. Black workers are left to do precisely what they were doing on the eve of the March on Washington: piece together their own economic survival.

This is happening almost 60 years later for two reasons. First is the retrenchment of white people’s privileged access to the means of economic mobility, like the ability to pay for high-quality college or connections to certain social networks. And second is an economy that has built a fire wall against the March’s demands by investing heavily in the private sector and shrinking the public sector. By the 1980s it had become clear that a better job alone would not anchor black freedom. Policies that had once been explicitly about targeting poverty through massive public investment instead favored private-sector schemes. The private sector, in turn, was more committed to profits than to social well-being. It also operates, to a large degree, beyond the indirect control of voters and their elected representatives. The result is a national safety net that gets weaker every year, with rising health costs, gutted food-subsidy programs, no paid parental leave, affordable-housing shortages and starved civic infrastructures that now struggle to provide entire cities



COLLECTIVE ACTION

Demonstrators march in Chicago for a \$15-per-hour minimum wage on May 23, 2017



with clean water and clean air. At every hole in the safety net, black Americans are more likely to fall through.

For the black middle-class entrepreneurs, the hustle is about the fragility of their position. The public sector still matters to black economic stability and mobility, and its erosion means black workers must increasingly look to a hostile private sector. There, jobs have shifted from production and manufacturing to professional services, and the highest-paying ones can be some of the most resistant to the kind of training that college affords black Americans. One does not train for a job in, say, consulting the way one does for engineering. The soft-skills jobs that trade in relationships are difficult ones for black workers to break into. That makes entrepreneurship attractive to professional-class black people like those at the Black Wall Street event. Pitching feels more democratic than being born into the right family. But being born into the right family is still the single most important qualification for the digital economy's highest-status jobs. As a study of contemporary inequality from the Georgetown Center on Education and the Workforce put it, "To succeed in America, it's better to be born rich than smart."

IF THERE IS ANY GOOD NEWS, it's that collective action still works. Fight for \$15 has demonstrated that a multi-racial movement for economic justice can raise the minimum wage for service and care workers, two sectors where black workers are overrepresented. In Durham, spurred by the ongoing efforts of organizers and unions, the mayor and city council established a Workers' Rights Commission in 2019 tasked with writing a workers' bill of rights that could raise the minimum wage and abolish the ban on collective

bargaining for public employees. It is a significant win for a Southern city.

The middle-class hustle is a tougher nut to crack. While the black workers who come out to protest with Fight for \$15 have drawn explicit connections between historical struggle and their everyday experiences of racial inequality, the Black Wall Street entrepreneurs seemed to have a lot of language but little critical engagement with the past. Though the conference was staged in the country's "Research Triangle," an area packed with colleges and universities, there wasn't much discussion of the economic-justice issues facing the black adults who will graduate into this new economy. I did not observe any panels on raising capital when you are managing historically high student-loan debt, for instance, and a tour of the city's historical Black Wall Street district largely neglected the eminent domain and gentrification that destroyed the area's black economic base. Some panelists also took pains to distance themselves from ideas of black collectivity. As one conference-goer said, "We can't just be about black people. This is a *diverse* city."

Civil rights organizers were explicit that the fates of all black Americans are linked through equal access to jobs, education and public life, but if middle-class black workers are as willing to embrace an agnostic reclamation of the Black Wall Street ethos as they appeared, they will have a hard time connecting their pitch to the hustle. And if they cannot make that connection, they are unlikely to see their hustle as linked to the larger one.

All is not lost. Both hustles are embedded in a history of not only survival but overcoming. The before-and-after story of U.S. racism turns on a significant victory. The March on Washington won. Whether what they won endures or is defended or built upon, the fact is it won. Collective organizing created meaningful social change. We know how to win. When we hustle alone, we hustle hard. When we hustle together, we can end the hustle for all.

McMillan Cottom, an associate professor of sociology at Virginia Commonwealth University, is the author of Thick: And Other Essays, a finalist for the National Book Award

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VIEWPOINT

Annette Gordon-Reed

THOMAS JEFFERSON'S REVOLUTIONARY WORDS

THOMAS JEFFERSON BEGAN LIFE IN A MONARCHY, UNDER THE reign of George II, in one of Britain's North American colonies—Virginia. In this monarchical system everyone knew his or her place, with little expectation of being able to move very far outside of it. Though the American provincials were not on a par with the aristocrats in the mother country, they had developed their own version of hierarchy. Jefferson, by dint of his family ties, was born at the top, and there would have been no reason to suspect that he would ever come to be associated with the idea of equality. This is especially so given that he was born into a slave society, and his family fully participated in the institution of slavery. From an early age, he would have understood what unequal status meant, with his lifelong involvement in the most extreme version of it as a slave owner. The equality of humankind was simply not an expectation in his world.

Yet, as a young man inspired by the books he read that introduced him to the Enlightenment, Jefferson began the process of questioning these hierarchies and status-based power. As the crisis with Britain flared up, Jefferson questioned the power of the church (preferring the primacy of science and reason), as well as laws that entrenched the power of great families (entail and primogeniture) and the morality of slavery. He began to think of different ways of ordering society. There would be no assumption that a given class of people was born to rule. If there was to be an aristocracy, it would be one of talent, not birth. Ordinary people would have a say in how their government was to be constituted.

Jefferson's vision of equality was not all-inclusive. Neither the enslaved nor women were part of it. Native peoples could be, but only if they agreed to assimilate with white people. Even though he produced eloquent denunciations of slavery, and he saw himself as a progressive on the question, he has been faulted for not working as hard for the freedom of African Americans as he did for that of white colonists. He also questioned the equal intellectual capacity of black people, and he never really contemplated the equality of women on terms satisfactory to us today. Even acknowledging all of that, we cannot ignore the transformative and bold words Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence: that it is "self-evident" that "all men are created equal." Many people, enslaved and free, black and white, believed those words; believed they expressed their long-held intuitions and condemned the wrongness of the oppression they suffered. They were moved to act.

IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, enslaved African Americans (and some free black people) joined the fighting on both sides, to vindicate their equal humanity. When they had the chance,

they filed freedom suits arguing that the words proclaiming the equality of mankind made their enslavement illegal and unjust. Many African-American agitators—from Frederick Douglass to Martin Luther King Jr.—have pointed to the Declaration as a promise of equal citizenship. Indeed, many groups—women, immigrants, members of the LGBTQ community—have looked to the document to justify their claims to an equal place in American society.

With his stubborn support for the French Revolution, his calls to separate church and state, and his desire to expand the voting franchise among white men, Jefferson gained a reputation as a dangerous radical who would turn society over to a mob. His claims of equality frightened many in America.

In the months before he died in 1826, Jefferson reaffirmed the ideas expressed in the Declaration, whose meaning had long transcended its original purpose—announcing the break with Britain and the colonies' determination to form a new nation. In a letter to Roger Weightman, declining an invitation to participate in a celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence because he was ill, Jefferson insisted that "all eyes are open, or opening, to the rights of man." He also said he believed that the universal language of the Declaration would one day apply "to the world."

Equality was the wave of the future.

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Gordon-Reed, a professor of law and history at Harvard University, won the Pulitzer Prize for The Hemingses of Monticello

Q+A

Bryan Stevenson, founder of the Equal Justice Initiative, on activism, his big-screen moment and what people should know about a criminal-justice system in which black adults are about six times more likely to face imprisonment than white adults

Reforming criminal justice has growing bipartisan support. President Trump signed a law in 2018 that, among other things, offers exceptions to mandatory minimums and reduces crack sentences. What do you make of it? I don't think most people understand the nature of this problem. First of all, the First Step Act impacts less than 1% of the people who are incarcerated in this country. It applies only to federal prisons. It's not even a scratch.

So what do people need to understand? Since President Richard Nixon, with his "tough on crime" rhetoric and "war on drugs," we have used a criminal-justice approach when we should have used a public-health approach. We've created a whole matrix for imprisoning, arresting, condemning and marginalizing millions of people in this country. We are the most punitive country in the world. It's so important to eliminate mandatory sentencing.

Has the opioid epidemic changed the attitudes of white Americans toward criminal-justice issues? Addiction and dependency is not a black-person issue. It's a crisis in America, and more people are seeing that. But we need to radically retreat from the approach that's been popular over the last 50 years. I think the racialized way we've used the criminal-justice system is a product of what I call the politics of fear and anger.

Didn't President Trump call himself the "law-and-order candidate" in 2016? This is not a Trump problem. Obviously this Administration has not been responsive to these issues. But Bill Clinton was a law-and-order candidate. Every President has felt the need to move away from any talk of rehabilitation.

Where is criminal-justice inequality most evident? I give talks and say this system treats you better if you are rich and guilty than if you are poor and innocent. And people nod their heads.

Eliminating bail for minor offenses is getting a lot of attention. Is that a good place to start? I think we need bail reform, but bail doesn't get us to the more fundamental issues. We have a lot more to gain by talking more directly to overincarceration.

Michael B. Jordan plays you in *Just Mercy*, the movie based on your memoir. What's that like? For the first 20 years of my career, I was content to just be in the courts [as a death-penalty lawyer]. I thought of my work the way people think about the Underground Railroad: be discreet and stealthy, and get things done quietly. But about 20 years ago, the atmosphere outside the courtroom became so hostile that it was impacting what could get done. That's when I decided to move into the public realm. I wrote a book. We built [the Legacy Museum and National Memorial for Peace and Justice]. The movie is the latest manifestation of that idea. A lot more people will watch a two-hour movie than will read a 300-page book.

We've seen a wave of activism recently among young people. Are you encouraged? I live in Montgomery, Ala. People in this community would put on their Sunday best and go places to advocate for civil rights knowing full well they would be beaten and bloodied. And they changed the temperature in this country. Their activism broke the will of a nation that was intent on never looking at the legacy of slavery and Jim Crow. It's just not enough to buy a T-shirt or issue a tweet, and do some of the things that people sometimes do and confuse it for activism that makes a difference. It's what you do with your life. You've got to get proximate to suffering and injustice.

—KARL VICK

'THIS SYSTEM
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Invisible lines

DISTRICT BORDERS THREATEN EDUCATION, AND THESE KIDS ARE FIGHTING TO SAVE THEIR SCHOOL

BY KEVIN CAREY / BENTON HARBOR, MICH.

TRACI BURTON IS 25 YEARS OLD, BUT COULD EASILY PASS for one of the seniors at Benton Harbor High School. Standing by the trophy case in the lobby, she's small and youthful, dressed casually, like many of the students walking through the metal detector toward lockers painted with black and orange tiger paws, symbols of the school mascot. People here say they have Tiger Pride.

Generations of Burton's family have lived in Benton Harbor, a city of 10,000 on the shores of Lake Michigan. She went to a performing-arts-focused elementary school there and got a great education. But when the time came for middle and high school, she left for a neighboring district because everyone told her that would be better. Then she went to college, graduated and came home, taking a job teaching at a local elementary school.

She was shocked by the change. The kind of education she received at the performing-arts school, which has since closed, was gone. The teaching staff at her new school was a revolving door of substitutes, and her third-grade students couldn't read. "I took the decline very personally," she says. "I knew I had to do something bigger to help."

Once a thriving center of industry, Benton Harbor's economy has collapsed. The high school building is a century old, worn in places, with an empty feeling inside. The streets around it are filled with large homes—some well-kept, others crumbling—abandoned businesses and vacant lots. In the public schools, test scores are so low and finances so dire that last year Michigan Governor Gretchen Whitmer proposed shutting down the high school and sending all the students to nearby districts and charter schools. Parts of Main Street look less boarded up than bombed out.

But drive another block, past the Family Dollar and Tim's Bail Bonds (STUCK IN JAIL? WE CAN BAIL!), and something unusual happens. Directly across the street, there's a gleaming corporate complex. Another hundred yards and you're on a bridge with a marina full of fancy yachts to the left and a Jack Nicklaus Design championship golf course to the right. Then you're across the river, in downtown St. Joseph, Mich., on streets full of restaurants, jewelry stores and pet boutiques. The two neighborhoods are a half-mile away from each other, and a universe apart.

TRICKLE-DOWN INEQUALITY

From left: Students Asia Tillman, Cameron Gordon, James Parker Hersey and Sincere Archibald, on Feb. 10, believe Benton Harbor High School is worth saving





Almost everyone in St. Joseph is white. Almost everyone in Benton Harbor is black. Nearly half the people in Benton Harbor live in poverty, and the median household income is barely \$20,000. According to the nonprofit EdBuild, the border between these two school districts is one of the 10 most economically segregated school boundaries in America.

But if the differences between Benton Harbor and St. Joseph are especially obvious, the forces that drive them apart are hardly unique. There are hundreds of American school districts like Benton Harbor: financially imperiled, academically challenged, in communities where bright futures are hard to see. There are hundreds more like St. Joseph: stable, prosperous and secure, educating the winners in the modern economy.

Sixty-six years and counting after *Brown v. Board of Education*, Benton Harbor and St. Joseph are illustrative: American education remains highly segregated by race and class, perpetuated in part by a patchwork of school districts—invisible lines that carve up the country, carefully separating the rich from the poor. EdBuild calculates that, annually, \$23 billion more goes to districts serving at least 75% white students than to those with 25% or fewer, even though the total numbers of students are about equal.

Some states are better than others, sending additional money to districts with high levels of poverty. But overall, students who live in poor districts get poorly funded schools, and rich students get rich ones. Well-off, well-educated students go on to college and promising careers, marry one another, have children and move into well-resourced school districts, starting the cycle over again. Instead of bringing Americans together, public schools—and the district lines that sort kids into them—increasingly accelerate the process of pushing them apart.

In some states, altering district lines requires amending the constitution, making better borders difficult to achieve. In others, parents are trying to secede from established districts into wealthy white enclaves that preserve tax revenues for themselves. Ultimately, school districts are choices about what children deserve.

Burton believes the students of Benton Harbor deserve to keep their school and to receive a better education than they're



VIRAL VIDEO Benton Harbor resident Traci Burton, 25, left, helped promote a music video featuring high schoolers including tuba player Cameron Gordon, 16

getting today. That's why, last year, she brought a group of them together to speak in the best way they knew how.

BENTON HARBOR HIGH was a marvel when the current building opened in 1921, including a 1,200-seat auditorium with full equipment for theatrical lighting and staging. When black families moved from the South to the industrialized North during and after World War II, in the Second Great Migration, Benton Harbor was a desirable destination. Firms like Superior Steel & Malleable Castings, Michigan Standard Alloys and the Upton Machine Company, which became the appliance behemoth Whirlpool, offered steady jobs. A 1958 yearbook photo of more than 30 students at Hull Elementary School shows a fully integrated class, roughly half white and half black.

But that moment of prosperity and integration proved brief. The Midwest soon

began a wrenching deindustrialization as many firms went bankrupt and others like Whirlpool sent blue-collar jobs overseas. Black workers were often the first to be laid off, and the community around the school steadily hollowed out. The hospital moved across the river to St. Joseph. So did the newspaper and the YMCA. The city's police cars were repossessed. The Benton Harbor school district, which relied at the time on property taxes, saw its revenue dry up. Today, Benton Harbor High School is badly in need of work. The district has a \$50 million repair backlog, almost twice its annual operating budget.

But this economic transformation did not happen in a vacuum. In the 1960s, white parents in Benton Harbor pushed for new school buildings in white neighborhoods that would have effectively segregated the district. In 1967, a group of black parents filed a lawsuit against the school district, with the backing of the NAACP, noting that black students were often tracked into less rigorous classes and black teachers were never assigned to white-majority schools. White families began moving to neighboring districts, spurred in part by block-busting real



estate speculators who preyed on racial fear. The NAACP technically won the lawsuit in 1977, with the courts deciding the conditions within the district amounted to unconstitutional segregation. But the final court remedy, delivered in 1981, was mostly limited to creating new magnet schools within the district, and had little lasting effect.

The NAACP lawsuit divided the city, and Benton Harbor voters often rejected education budgets. Shuttered factories stopped paying taxes, leaving the schools short of funds. In St. Joseph, where Whirlpool execs continued to live and tourists came in the summer, there was money for facilities and teacher pay.

Meanwhile, in 1994, Michigan revamped the state school-funding system, moving away from property taxes to a state sales tax, among other sources. While that shift should have helped Benton Harbor, there were a couple of catches. First, districts that benefited from the old system were grandfathered in at higher levels of funding. St. Joseph began in 1994 by receiving nearly \$1,000 more per student than Benton Harbor, despite having far fewer lower-income students to serve.

8 RADICAL IDEAS FOR EQUALITY NOW

Below, some of the biggest, most innovative and, in some cases, controversial ideas for making the U.S. a more perfect union.

—Abigail Abrams

1. BABY BONDS

Studies show that earning a good living is not enough to help people of color move up the socioeconomic ladder. So researchers William Darity Jr. and Darrick Hamilton have proposed “baby bonds,” which would give every baby born in the U.S. money up to about \$50,000, depending on their family’s wealth. The money would belong to the children, becoming available when they turn 18. Supporters say giving every child a trust fund could help level the economic playing field and close the racial wealth gap.

2. NO CASH BAIL

Nearly half a million Americans are in jail without a conviction—and many are there because they can’t afford bail. As people wait for trial behind bars, they often lose jobs, can’t care for families and are likelier to take plea deals. People of color are disproportionately affected.

Reformers have debated ways to eliminate cash bail for certain defendants, like those who are unlikely to skip trial and who don’t pose a public danger. It’s still controversial, but California is considering outlawing the practice, New Jersey and New York have curtailed it, and some progressive DAs are considering similar steps.



Second, Michigan instituted one of the nation’s most expansive school-choice programs, letting students enroll in other districts or newly created charter schools, bringing their school funding with them. The campaign to enact the measure was bankrolled by millions of dollars from a native Michigander and staunch believer in free markets named Betsy DeVos, who is now the U.S. Secretary of Education.

Nationally some charter schools significantly outperform regular public schools, especially for low-income and minority students. But successful charters tend to be nonprofit and located in cities large enough to absorb new competition. Benton Harbor, a small, poor, shrinking city, was soon home to three new charters, two operated by for-profit corporations. The unemployment, poverty and collapse of infrastructure in Benton Harbor were the result of unmanaged free-market competition that was too intense for the community to bear. The market-driven education policies pushed by DeVos unleashed those same forces on the school system, with similar results.

By the 2000s, the Benton Harbor school district was losing students and money to corporate-backed charters and richer, better-funded neighboring districts. It had to borrow money from the state to make payroll. But that added annual debt payments, plus interest, to a collapsing bottom line. Aging facilities went unrepaired and teacher salaries lagged. Over 40% of classes are now taught by uncertified substitutes.

“I came here when I was 3 years old,” says Asia Tillman, 15, a sophomore at Benton Harbor High. “As I started growing up, stuff started to get taken away from us. There’s nowhere to work. There’s nowhere to have fun.” She shifts in her chair, gathering her thoughts. “Everybody, once they get older, they move. Or if they don’t have enough money, they stay. We don’t have stores. We don’t really have anything.”

IN 2012, TRACI BURTON was a senior at Lakeshore High School, in a district neighboring Benton Harbor. She was one of the few black students in AP English. One day, she came back from visiting colleges to take a quiz. It contained this question: “Many people assume that all areas of Benton Harbor are [blank]; they don’t consider the neat arts district

with its cool restaurants and shops.”

The correct answer was “sordid.” Burton’s heart sank. That’s how they saw Benton Harbor, her community, her people. Her. *Sordid*. She told her parents, who complained, but the Lakeshore community rallied around the teacher, forming a Facebook group where people posted threats and insults against the teenager. She finished high school under a cloud and left. She enrolled in Western Michigan University, where she graduated with a degree in film, video and media studies and a minor in nonprofit management.

Benton Harbor continued to struggle. When the manufacturers shut down, they left behind acres of polluted industrial wasteland around the river between the two cities. In the 2000s, civic leaders hatched a plan for that land: an elaborate golf course, complete with million-dollar houses and a luxury hotel. The decision was met with enthusiasm by Whirlpool executives and wealthy Chicagoans who owned summer homes near the beach in St. Joseph. To give golfers views of Lake Michigan, the development took over most of a park that had been bequeathed in perpetuity to the children of Benton Harbor “and at all times shall be open for the use and benefit of the public.” Annual course memberships cost more than \$3,000.

As plans got under way, the developers saw an opportunity. Some of the land they wanted to develop was in St. Joseph. But Benton Harbor’s acute economic distress made it eligible for state tax credits that its richer neighbor could not access. So they temporarily altered the border between the towns, a line that is in all other ways impermeable. The St. Joseph land became part of Benton Harbor, making the development eligible for credits. The school-district lines remained the same.

Property taxes from the luxury homes on the transferred land won’t be used to fix Benton Harbor High. Instead, the money will finance roads and other improvements around the golf-course development, until 2025, when the land will revert back to St. Joseph. Benton Harbor voters recently passed an income tax on people who live and work in the city. The residents of luxury golf homes inside the transferred parcel sued, saying they shouldn’t have to pay.

The land-transfer scheme was first



BENTON HARBOR The small city of 10,000 is predominantly black, and its schools are in debt

written about by Louise Seamster, a sociologist at the University of Iowa whose doctoral thesis focused on the two cities. She calls the process by which wealthy white communities systematically appropriate the resources of cities like Benton Harbor an “extraction machine.”

Jeff Noel, a spokesperson for Whirlpool, defended the development, arguing it brought hundreds of new homes to Benton Harbor, “ranging from affordable homes to over \$1.5 million in value.” He added that the community donates more than \$14 million every year, of which over 60% comes from Whirlpool and its employees, to United Way, community college, local schools, Boys & Girls Clubs and economic-development efforts. Whirlpool, which received a \$3.8 million property tax abatement on its new corporate headquarters in Benton Harbor, made more than \$1 billion in profits last year.

Reedell Holmes, the principal of Benton Harbor High, feels the inequity more sharply than most. He grew up in a family of 10 in Mississippi. His father earned \$65 a week. White men on the same job

got \$250. New school supplies, he recalls, went to the white school in the county, while worn-out books were handed down to the black school. His whole working life he’s borne witness to a kind of trickle-down inequality. “I struggled when I was in high school,” he says. “When it comes to funding, it was not there.”

Now Holmes is near the end of his career, in a school that almost nobody seems to believe in. “The field has not leveled,” he says. “That struggle is still there.” But at least a handful of Benton Harbor kids weren’t willing to give up.

WHEN TRACI BURTON graduated from college in 2016, she could have gone anywhere, but only one destination felt right: home. She returned to Benton Harbor, worked for the Boys & Girls Club because they had helped her when she was younger, then started teaching.

By January of last year, Burton could feel the forces of criticism bearing down on her hometown’s schools. The district had rock-bottom test scores and chronic financial woes. But people still had pride



ST. JOSEPH Half a mile away, this mostly white town has a strong tax base and better schools

in the high school, where generations of graduates would come together to watch the basketball teams. The boys were state champions two years ago.

For Burton, saving the school was vital to Benton Harbor's future, but it wasn't enough. "All communities deserve to have a school," she says. "But they also deserve to have a good school, with resources. It can't just be for Tiger Pride."

She listened hard and didn't hear the voices of the students themselves. So she called a friend from Atlanta who produced music videos and gathered a group of Benton Harbor High kids, including Asia Tillman. For the next four months, they met after school at the Boys & Girls Club, turning a gospel ballad into a hip-hop track called "Get Up." Its video is sharp and dramatically lit, cutting on the beat between four students singing in the high school halls, classrooms and gym, calling for the school debt to be forgiven and their education renewed.

Burton uploaded the nearly five-minute clip to Facebook in early May 2019, and the number of views started jumping:

10,000, then 20,000. There was a story about the video on the evening news, and she was elated. It was the best vision of the school that anyone had seen in years.

Meanwhile, in the state capital of Lansing, Governor Whitmer had recently begun her first term. A rising star in the Democratic Party who would later give the official response to President Trump's 2020 State of the Union address, Whitmer was worried about Benton Harbor High School. According to state government sources, fewer than three 11th-graders were deemed college-ready in each of the previous five years. Closing the school seemed like a tough but necessary step on behalf of Benton Harbor's children.

So two weeks after Burton's music video hit Facebook, Whitmer shocked the community by announcing plans to shut down the high school. The district, Whitmer proposed, would keep its elementary and middle schools, while high school students would be dispersed to seven schools in nearby districts, including Lakeshore, or charter schools. Their state funding would follow, and some of

Benton Harbor High's outstanding debt could be forgiven.

After the news broke, views of Burton's video jumped again—100,000, then 200,000. The plan was announced during finals, and stressed-out students told Burton they watched it every morning to keep centered. "Before my freshman year, everybody told me, 'Don't go to the high school,'" says Cameron Gordon, who sings in the video. But, he explains, it wasn't bad like they said. "Right now, I'm in the band. I love the band! I play the tuba. But we literally have to get our own funds for everything we do." Every year, he adds, the words people use about the school get worse. "We have a lot of talent here, but without money that talent is useless."

At a community meeting in a local church that stretched to four hours, Whitmer conceded that her plan was "not being met with a lot of enthusiasm with many people in this room." In July, the Benton Harbor school board rejected the proposal. Reluctant to force through a restructuring against the community's wishes, Whitmer agreed to more

negotiations. By last fall, the state agreed to restructure the school's debt.

Tiffany Brown, press secretary for the governor, says that Whitmer's "top priority" is "making sure every child in Benton Harbor has a path to postsecondary success." The governor, she added, engaged "with Benton Harbor school-board members, community leaders, students and parents" and will continue working with a special committee charged with making recommendations for the district's future.

The district still faces enormous financial and educational challenges. Continued loss of enrollment and money could yet lead to bankruptcy and dissolution. The special committee's recommendations are expected in March. Nobody has proposed changing the underlying problem that forced Benton Harbor students to plead for a better high school in their community: the segregation of children into school districts with dramatically different levels of poverty and wealth.

THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION has made a point of deprioritizing places like Benton Harbor High. After helping make Michigan an educational free market, DeVos as Secretary of Education has called for the same nationwide. In his most recent State of the Union, Trump proposed private-school tax credits for "children trapped in failing government schools," but did not mention giving public schools equal funding or providing extra resources to schools whose students have extra needs.

To truly level the ground between St. Joseph and Benton Harbor, the federal government would have to fund K-12 education in the same way it funds health care, transportation and other vital public services, providing significant resources to lower-income states and communities. Currently, only 8% of school funding comes from the U.S. Department of Education. States also have to do more. Many students in places like Benton Harbor need intensive, expensive support. But Michigan still gives the district less money per student than it gives to communities benefiting from a wealthy property-tax base.

Both Benton Harbor the city and the school district have at various points been controlled by state-appointed emergency managers and consent agreements. As more than one Benton Harbor resident

8 RADICAL IDEAS FOR EQUALITY NOW

3. UNIVERSAL BASIC INCOME

What if the government gave all citizens a set amount of free money, with no strings? That's the idea behind universal basic income (UBI), which proponents say would help families cover their basic needs, alleviate poverty and lift up society at large. Thomas Paine proposed a version of it in 1797, and figures from Martin Luther King Jr. to Richard Nixon have supported it. But in recent years, UBI has been gaining currency. Andrew Yang championed it during his presidential campaign, and Stockton, Calif., Mayor Michael Tubbs is already in the midst of his own pilot program to see whether cash infusions can help struggling residents.



4. BRING BACK THE DRAFT

The idea of conscription has never been very popular, and yet some argue that America's all-volunteer force has created more problems than anyone anticipated. The U.S. military draws heavily on working-class and nonwhite residents—and with fewer than 1.3 million active service members, most Americans are not involved. Some advocates, like retired Army major general Dennis Laich, argue that reinstating a draft would close the divide, reduce recruiting costs and increase foreign-policy engagement. A judge ruled in 2019 that a draft for men only is unconstitutional, and a commission is examining potential changes to the future of the draft, with a report due in March.

notes, it was an emergency manager who infamously decided to switch the water supply in Flint, Mich., which poisoned the city's children with lead. The Benton Harbor school district only regained full control of its schools recently, just in time for the state to declare it bankrupt and unfixable and suggest that the high school be shuttered—which still might happen.

Benton Harbor and St. Joseph represent 21st century America in miniature, divided by inequality past and present, struggling to overcome a legacy of discrimination and mistrust. There is no secret explanation for why Benton Harbor High School came to be this way, and no shortcut for how to make it better. Fixing public schools requires money. Buildings need to be renovated and modernized. Teachers need to be paid enough to take and keep a challenging job. And administrators need to focus on, and be held accountable for, the hard task of education, not managing endless financial crises. It's not as if there's no money available to pay for these things. The students can see it, right across the river, across that invisible line that separates their poor school district from the rich one a half mile away.

In the music video that Asia Tillman, Cameron Gordon and their classmates created, you can hear both their fear and conviction. Asia comes in near the end, standing in the school gym, wearing a T-shirt with the Tiger logo that says **WE CAN DO ANYTHING**. The mood darkens, the students lower their gazes, as she begins to rap, her voice furious and young:

*Our city is burning
And we have no options
They do not care about us*

The history of Benton Harbor over the past half-century has been dominated by loss—of people, institutions, money and faith—and the victims of this transformation have gone deliberately unseen. Asia raps on:

*To the world
We is a ghost to them*

Asia wants the school she deserves, not nearby, but in her hometown.

*You cannot take me up out of my city
Move me, try me*

She doesn't want to be the last to leave.

Carey is a writer, analyst and director of the education policy program at the nonpartisan think tank New America

VIEWPOINT

Gabrielle Union + Dwyane Wade

WHAT OUR FAMILY TAUGHT US ABOUT EQUALITY

THERE'S AN OLD-SCHOOL MENTALITY FOR PARENTS, ESPECIALLY if you play basketball, that when your son is born, he's going to follow in your footsteps. Zaire, who's now 18 and a key player for one of the best high school teams in the country, quickly met that expectation.

When Zaya was born, we thought the same thing: let's give her a ball and see if she's into it. But ever since she was about 3, we realized she wasn't. This summer, she told us she wanted to use she/her pronouns and that she wanted to go by Zaya. Zion was now her "dead name" and should no longer be used.

We projected our fears onto her. As black people, we know what we're facing. When you've seen the devil up close and you've seen what evil lurks out there, your instinct is to just say, "Turn into me and you'll be O.K. I've made it this far." But we're robbing our children of their identities and their most authentic selves. Sometimes the fiercest fight is against the person in the mirror and how you were raised.

We didn't change overnight—we weren't immediately the perfect allies. We were assimilated into gender roles that we'd been ascribed. There were learning curves. Zaya, now 12, once asked us, "Do you know there's a difference between gender expression, identity and sexuality?"

We were like, "Yep!" And the second she walked away, we said, "O.K., let's break out the Google." We had to shut up and listen and ask so many questions and talk to health care professionals. We reached out to black trans activists, advocates, educators, and watched shows and documentaries like *Pose*, *Euphoria* and *The Death and Life of Marsha P. Johnson*. Zaya had to educate us. She has always led. At times, we've had to catch up.

There are lots of things we still argue about, like what it is to be a "lady." Are we trying to teach Zaya a very specific and "traditional" way of performing "femininity," like shaving your legs and armpits? How many things that we do are rooted in misogyny, sexism and forcing women into these boxes?

Zaya's identity may fly in the face of our faith or our upbringing—a lot of parents have this mentality of "this is how it has to be"—but honestly, that thinking is messing our kids up. The transgender suicide rate is very high. It's our job, when our children come home and tell us who they truly are, to go out and find the very best ways to help them embrace that. When Zaire got his driver's license and wanted to drive, we had to explain to him what it means to be a black man in America and how his interaction with the police may be different because of that. When any of our children show us who they are in life, we make sure we give them the best—and we approach Zaya's identity in the same way.

Social media has been difficult. She's in junior high, and those years are so critical and can be brutal. But for a lot of LGBTQ+ kids, it's their only lifeline to their community. We're trying to figure out that balance of not taking away her community but also protecting her from being inundated with negativity and ignorance.

We were both surprised, and encouraged, by how many people in our lives changed their traditional views on gender and identity. When we were clear with our loved ones that, in the same way we're not going to be friends with people who assault their children or use racist language, we were not going to accept any discrimination or abuse toward the LGBTQ+ community, it really wasn't that difficult for them. We didn't lose anybody. We gained a lot more educated, curious people who started their own inner dialogue.

THE BIGGEST LESSON we can offer is: listen to your child. Do you actually know your child, or are you just committed to forcing your child to conform to these impossible standards? You can't one-size-fits-all your parenting. A lot of people are now wondering who they could have been, had their parents supported who they are.

Identity isn't a desire or a wish: it's more a matter of our understanding and making the necessary adjustments to ensure someone is celebrated for being their authentic and true selves. We love our child and would do anything to make sure she has the best possibilities to succeed in life, to have happiness and joy. We see that in Zaya. We see joy in her. And that makes us feel so amazing.

Union is an author and actor; Wade is a three-time NBA champion

ZAYA HAD TO EDUCATE US. SHE HAS ALWAYS LED. AT TIMES, WE'VE HAD TO CATCH UP



In search of an equal city

HOW CITIES ACROSS THE U.S. ARE CLOSING OPPORTUNITY GAPS BY EMILY BARONE

FOR NEARLY 20 YEARS, DOLORES ACEVEDO-GARCIA HAS been collecting data on the access—and lack thereof—that children in neighborhoods across the U.S. have to necessities like healthy food and a good education. She and her team at the Institute for Child, Youth and Family Policy at Brandeis University in Waltham, Mass., manage diversitydatakids.org, a data project designed to guide the high-level policy decisions that affect childhood and equality.

This information has helped local policymakers and institutions understand where to target programs to improve outcomes for their cities' children. For example, last year researchers at Lurie Children's Hospital of Chicago incorporated the data in an analysis of car-accident injury records. They found that injured children who weren't properly secured in a car seat were more likely to live in neighborhoods that rank low on the Brandeis scale for childhood opportunity. This spurred the hospital to ramp up services that offer free car seats and car-safety education to families in those areas.

In Boston, in the summer of 2017, when a community member saw evidence that young people didn't have enough to eat, that person alerted the Vital Village Network, a group of health care, social-services and education workers who create outreach programs in low-rated neighborhoods. Using the Brandeis research in conjunction with food-access data, the group launched an app in late 2018 called Abundance Boston that directs residents in those areas to sources of affordable, healthy food ranging from food pantries and farmers' markets to free spaghetti nights. Hundreds of residents have used the app, ranking and discussing their experiences, which alleviates the stigma of talking about the challenges of feeding their children.

And in Albany, N.Y., recreation commissioner Jonathan P. Jones used the data to locate areas that lack green spaces, and set out to rebuild or revitalize playgrounds and parks around the city, with a particular focus on neighborhoods that lacked these facilities. The five-year, \$2 million project is well under way, with 13 playgrounds overhauled since 2015. Jones says property values are al-

ready going up around the parks, and because each site has different equipment, people are visiting areas they otherwise wouldn't. "It forces you to go into a community," Jones says. "It forces people to be one city."

In January, Acevedo-Garcia and her team published the latest edition of the Child Opportunity Index, an ambitious project that takes a deep look at 47,000 neighborhoods across the 100 largest U.S. metro areas, scoring them from 1 to 100, where a higher number means more childhood opportunity based on 29 key measures.

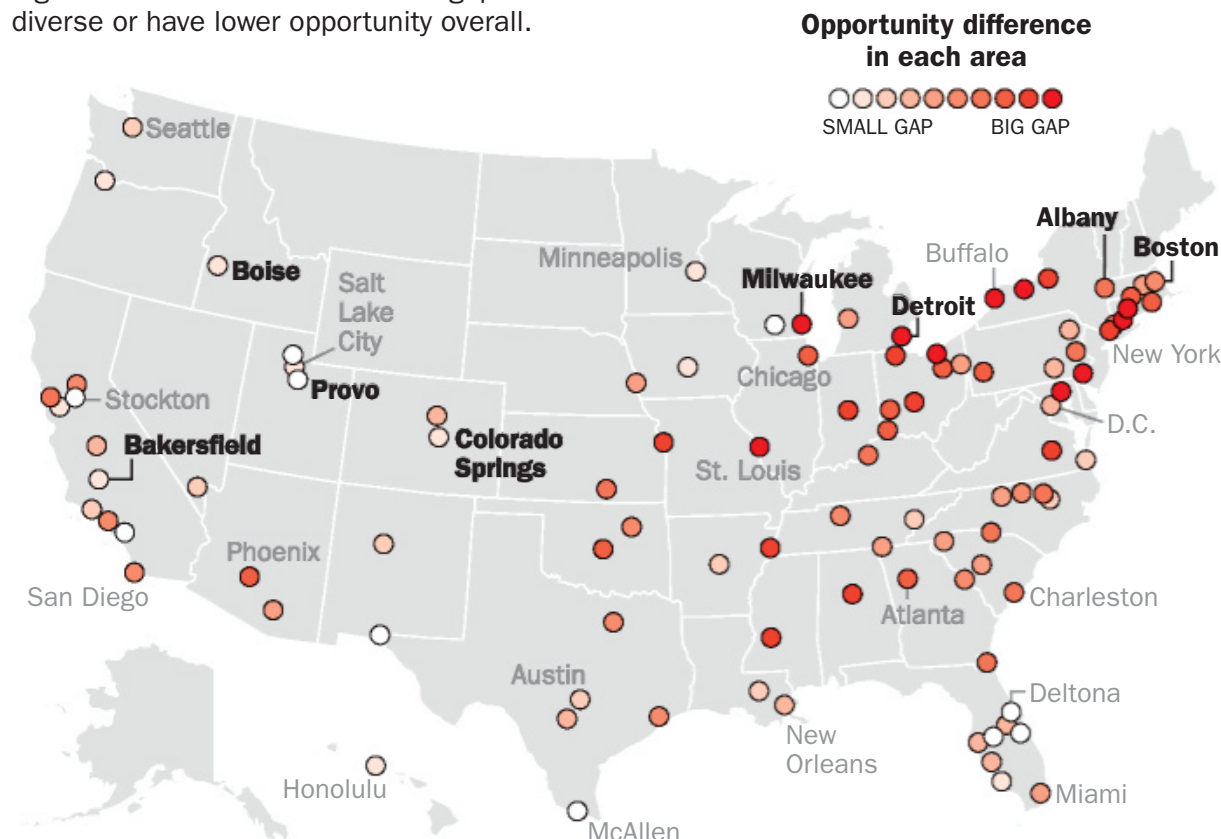
Acevedo-Garcia's data evaluating children's access focuses on how the next generation is faring. But children are, of course, a proxy for the community as a whole. The life expectancy of residents in neighborhoods with very low scores on her child-opportunity scale is 75 years, for example. In very high-opportunity neighborhoods, it's 82.

TIME WORKED with Acevedo-Garcia to see if her neighborhood data could point us to metropolitan areas with comparatively high levels of equal opportunity. That meant searching for areas with relatively small gaps between the highest- and lowest-ranked neighborhoods.

This information is useful because, even when places have the same opportunity level overall, actually living in those cities can be a very different experience. For example, Colorado Springs and Detroit both score an overall opportunity level of 55. But in Colorado Springs, a typical high-opportunity

GAPS ACROSS AMERICA

Every metro area has high-opportunity and low-opportunity neighborhoods. The map shows the gap between these highs and lows. Places with small gaps are often less diverse or have lower opportunity overall.



NOTE: MAP SHOWS TOP 100 METRO AREAS BY POPULATION. SOURCE: CHILD OPPORTUNITY INDEX, BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY

neighborhood scores an 87 and a typical low-opportunity one scores 24. That might seem like a huge gap. But Detroit's high is 95 and its low is 2: a much less equal city.

The problem was, when we found areas with small gaps between neighborhoods, those cities tended to be racially homogenous. In other words, children in Provo, Utah, and Boise, Idaho, have access to comparatively equal opportunities, regardless of which neighborhoods they live in—but those cities are more than 80% white.

Meanwhile, many of the more diverse metro areas in the U.S., especially cities with large black populations, have enormous opportunity gaps; the few diverse cities with small gaps tend to have low opportunity scores overall. "It's hard to find a place that is equitable and racially diverse," says Acevedo-Garcia.

In all 100 metro areas in Acevedo-Garcia's study combined, white children live in neighborhoods with a median score of 73, compared with neighborhood scores of 72 for Asian children, 33 for Hispanic children and 24 for black children. Black and Hispanic kids

live with less opportunity than their white and Asian peers almost without exception—even in Bakersfield, Calif., where white kids have the lowest opportunity in the U.S.

The disparities are especially wide in certain parts of the country. Milwaukee and its surrounding area has the widest racial disparity in the U.S., despite having a high overall opportunity score. A white child there lives in a neighborhood with a median opportunity score of 85. For a black child, the median neighborhood score is 6.

This situation is frustrating to advocates, especially when high-ranking neighborhoods don't share resources like schools and housing with low-ranking ones that are right next door. But while the most equal place in the U.S. does not exist yet, the pursuit to get there is well under way.

"We look at the high number to say you can do well here, and many children are enjoying that success," Acevedo-Garcia says. "Don't tell me it's not possible for all kids to reach that potential." □

THE POWER OF PHILANTHROPY

BY DARREN WALKER

In the year before the March on Washington, Martin Luther King Jr. prepared a series of sermons that would become the book *Strength to Love*. This was King at his most prodigious and enduring, affirming that we "are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality." And, among these 1963 reflections, he challenged the origins and objectives of charity. "Philanthropy is commendable," he wrote. "But it must not cause the philanthropist to overlook the circumstances of economic injustice which make philanthropy necessary."

King's words acknowledge a central contradiction: philanthropy is a creature of our market system's unequal benefits, and yet charged with addressing its prejudice and exploitation. They also guide us toward a new gospel of giving, defined by new tenets.

Modern philanthropy dates to the Gilded Age, when Andrew Carnegie proposed a radical idea: the wealthy should give from their gains to aid "the masses." Many other families endowed foundations in Carnegie's mold; the Ford Foundation, which I am privileged to lead, has directed billions of dollars to promote democratic values and human welfare. Today, "the philanthropist" might more fully understand—as King did—that while many of our efforts are good and even righteous, the supply of charitable giving cannot possibly keep pace with the demand for it. We might recognize that philanthropy is not one thing, but rather a continuum that spans from charity on one side to justice on the other—and that we must bend economic, social and political systems, the systems that made us, toward the latter. King's calls of 1963 still reverberate in every village and hamlet. They must echo in the ways we give, as well.

Walker is the president of the Ford Foundation and a member of the 2016 TIME 100

The equalizers

16 PEOPLE AND GROUPS WHO ARE FIGHTING TO LEVEL UP

The Rev. William J. Barber II

SPEAKING UP FOR THE POOR

By Mary C. Curtis

FOR 27 YEARS, THE REV. WILLIAM J. BARBER II HAS been the pastor at a church in the small city of Goldsboro, N.C. But on a recent afternoon, he could be found at a hotel in Raleigh, about an hour away from home. His work as an activist takes him to the state capital often enough that he's well known there. Not long after, he'd move on to an event in Charleston, S.C., and then to Iowa, where he'd lead a march demanding a presidential debate on poverty.

Barber is ever in motion, and he's still picking up momentum. He's hardly stopped since he attracted national attention as the leader of the Moral Mondays protests held at the North Carolina capitol in Raleigh beginning in 2013. His newsmaking actions were founded on the idea that being a person of faith means fighting for justice—whether by working beside a conservative mayor to protest the closing of rural hospitals or by calling for an NAACP boycott of the state in response to the legislature's actions, like its infamous “bathroom bill.”

In 2018, the 56-year-old minister—a MacArthur “genius” grantee who founded the community-organizing group Repairers of the Breach—put a new spin on that work. He and the Rev. Liz Theoharis of the Kairos Center at Union Theological Seminary launched the Poor People's Campaign: A National Call for Moral Revival. Under the principle Barber calls “moral fusion,” they take a holistic view of the relationship among injustices, from ecological devastation to systemic racism, and he believes solutions must come from listening to those most affected. “We believe they have agency,” Barber says of the 140 million poor or low-income Americans, “and their stories need to be heard, their faces need to be seen. They have the answers.”

The campaign now has a presence in a majority of states and is planning an assembly in Washington, which it hopes will draw thousands, for June 20.

Any resemblance to the work of Martin Luther King Jr. is intentional: King launched his own Poor People's Campaign less than a year before he was assassinated

in April 1968. It was also in 1968 that Barber—who was born just days after the 1963 March on Washington—moved with his family from Indiana to North Carolina. His father, a teacher and preacher, had gotten a call from a black principal asking him to return to his home state to help with the cause of integration. The young boy found himself on the front lines of that fight. In the process Barber learned an early lesson: “There is not some separation between Jesus and justice; to be Christian is to be concerned with what's going on in the world.”

And so, at his church in Goldsboro, politicians are welcome to worship and stay for a conversation, and many do. But they're not allowed to preach. Neither Barber nor his organizations endorse candidates, though they do endorse issues. “Republicans have racialized property, and Democrats have run from poverty,” he says. “And we're forcing them to deal with the reality. We are very political, but we're not partisan.”

Barber, who received a diagnosis in the 1990s of ankylosing spondylitis, a form of arthritis that fused his vertebrae in place, says he has seen enough pain in the world that he's not going to let his own pain stop him. He's got work to do.

“All the victories we enjoy today—voting rights, Social Security, minimum wage—100 years ago were seen as virtually impossible,” he says. “Everything we won, people had to start winning in the midst of opposition that looked like it was overwhelming. I believe that's the moment we're in right now.”

Curtis is a North Carolina-based journalist and speaker

CAMPAIGN

TRAIL Barber at Pullen Memorial Baptist Church in Raleigh, N.C., on Jan. 27, before a backdrop showing the North Carolina house of representatives chamber where he was arrested in 2011

LEARN MORE
See a video about Barber's battle on [time.com](https://www.time.com)



Angela Doyinsola Aina

EMPOWERING BLACK MOTHERS

THE U.S. SPENDS MUCH MORE on health care than any other developed country does, and yet women in the U.S. are dying of pregnancy-related causes more than they used to and more than in other developed nations. This problem is particularly dire for African Americans, who are three to four times more likely than their white counterparts to suffer pregnancy-related deaths. Black Mamas Matter Alliance (BMMA), co-founded by Angela Doyinsola Aina, launched in 2016 to address these huge disparities; the group worked with Congress to launch Black Maternal Health Week, now held each April. “What is perpetuating these adverse health outcomes is structural racism and gender oppression,” says Aina, 36.

This year, Aina is drawing on her own background in public health to ramp up BMMA’s research efforts and to promote the use of midwives and doulas, who she says can be critical resources for communities that have historically fraught relationships with the U.S. medical system. The World Health Organization named 2020 the “year of the nurse and midwife,” and Aina hopes this increased attention will help lead to more investment in black women-led health programs. “Those are the initiatives that work best,” she says, “in communities that are most impacted by health disparities.” —ABIGAIL ABRAMS



the CIW’s main goal is to correct the imbalance of power between the food industry and its workers that “allowed for the abuses that we were facing.”

In 2011, the CIW launched the Fair Food Program (FFP), an agreement between the CIW, farms and retail food companies that pledge to purchase produce only from growers who agree to a code of conduct with enforceable consequences, ensuring the civil rights of farmworkers are protected. Megabrands such as McDonald’s and Walmart are among the participating buyers, and the group is targeting holdouts: on March 10–12, the CIW will lead a series of marches through New York City to put pressure on Wendy’s to join. “We realized that if we were going to actually address the poverty and the abuses on the farm,” says Greg Asbed, 56, another co-founder, “we’d have to look beyond the farm for the answer.”

—MADELEINE CARLISLE

Dina Bakst

HELPING WORKING WOMEN

FOR MANY AMERICAN women, especially low-wage workers in physically demanding fields, having kids means jeopardizing their jobs—so much so that they may be forced to choose between a paycheck and a healthy pregnancy. That situation, says Dina Bakst, “snowballs into lasting economic disadvantage.”

As co-founder of the legal advocacy organization A Better Balance, Bakst, 47, represents women who lose their jobs while pregnant. She’s championing federal legislation advancing in Congress this year to help pregnant women and new mothers get fair treatment at work: the Pregnant Workers Fairness Act and the PUMP for Nursing Mothers Act would, respectively, require employers to make reasonable accommodations for pregnant employees, and make it easier for breastfeeding moms to pump at work. At a time when there are more women than men in the U.S.



workforce, Bakst says implementing fair work-life standards—including pregnancy accommodations, paid sick days, paid family and medical leave, and quality affordable childcare—is more important than ever: “It’s absolutely essential for gender equality and for our nation’s economic security.” —KATIE REILLY

William C. Bell

FIXING FOSTER CARE

THE ROUGHLY 437,000 U.S. children in foster care are more likely to drop out of high school compared with peers who live with family, and children who age out of the system are more likely to face homelessness, unemployment and incarceration. Foster care, while designed to help children in need, also exacerbates existing inequalities: poorer families are more likely to have a child removed from the home, and many advocates argue that’s because the child-welfare system scrutinizes signs of poverty, labeling it child neglect.

William C. Bell aspires to an America with as few children in foster care as possible. As president and CEO of Casey Family Programs, Bell, 60, was one of the strongest advocates for the Family First Prevention Services Act, landmark bipartisan legislation that aims to keep more families together. The law, which took effect in October, allows states to use federal funding to help struggling parents before resorting to putting children in foster care. “If we can get more children being raised in a family-like setting, either with their parents or extended family,” Bell says, “it bodes well for what happens in this country in the long run.” —K.R.



Greg Asbed, Lucas Benitez and Laura Germino

JUSTICE FOR FARMWORKERS

THE COALITION OF IMMOKALEE WORKERS (CIW) began in the 1990s as a collection of Florida-based farmworkers organizing to fight long-standing labor abuses. Lucas Benitez, 44, one of the co-founders, tells TIME via translator that

Kat Calvin

MAKING IDS MORE ACCESSIBLE

MILLIONS OF U.S. VOTERS DON’T HAVE a photo ID, and yet—with a wave of new laws in the run-up to the 2016 election—about two-thirds of states require some kind of identification to vote. Critics say those laws suppress the votes of vulner-

able Americans who cannot take on the cost or the burden of getting an ID. So in 2017, Kat Calvin, 36, founded Spread the Vote, a nonprofit dedicated to helping people secure IDs. It's now active in 12 states, with more than 600 volunteers. As the 2020 election approaches, the organization reports having helped over 4,500 people obtain IDs; more than 77% of them have never voted before.

But Calvin's mission has grown beyond the ballot box. A large percentage of food banks and homeless shelters also require IDs. You also need an ID for legal employment. "Just basic survival is almost impossible without one," she says. A common response that Calvin hears from her clients: "I'm a person again." —M.C.

Patrisse Cullors

IMPROVING CRIMINAL JUSTICE

THE ACTIVIST AND educator Patrisse Cullors is best known for a movement that swept the entire U.S.: in 2013, along with Alicia Garza and Opal Tometi, she co-founded Black Lives Matter. Recently, though, her focus has been more local. Her new plan, the "Yes on R" campaign, supports a ballot initiative—Measure R—to reform the Los Angeles County jails, buttress oversight of the sheriff's department, and provide treatment and mental-health care for those incarcerated in L.A. Measure R will be voted on this March, thanks to more than a quarter-million signatures getting it on the ballot. "We have to have strong communities, strong cities and strong counties," says Cullors, 36. And, she notes, local work can lead to something bigger: people from across the country have reached out to her about implementing something similar to Yes on R in their own cities. —JOSIAH BATES



Jonathan Eisen

SEEKING SCIENCE DIVERSITY

JONATHAN EISEN, PROFESSOR AT THE genome center at University of Califor-

nia, Davis, knows he's an unlikely champion for female representation at scientific conferences. But he also knows someone needs to point out the dearth of women who are speakers at these events. Since Eisen, 51, first vented his frustration with the problem in a 2012 blog post, his social-media feed has called out scientific gatherings that disproportionately feature male scientists.

His posts make him the target of criticism from colleagues, and conference organizers have threatened to bar him from their future meetings. But he willingly bears the brunt of that backlash, and has received grateful feedback from men and women who appreciate his serving as the lightning rod for any fallout. Now, Eisen says that around a third of his posts highlighting gender bias at conferences come from other scientists.

On his blog, he also includes advice for how to run a more diverse meeting that includes not just a better balance of men and women, but people of color and scientists at different stages of their careers as well. "We can fix this," he says. "And no doubt things have been changing. But also without a doubt, it's not enough."

—ALICE PARK

Michael Haynie

MEETING VETERANS' NEEDS

WHEN MICHAEL HAYNIE LEFT THE Air Force after 14 years to teach business at Syracuse University, he was shocked by how little attention the people in his new world paid to the challenges facing veterans. In 2011, recognizing that someone had to step up, he founded Syracuse's Institute for Veterans and Military Families (IVMF).

Veterans need attention—especially as they transition from military to civilian life—so, in addition to research and advocacy, the institute provides free professional training programs to veterans and their families, and has served more than 132,000 since its founding, reaching more people in 2019 than any other transition program for U.S. veterans. What began as a staff of three has grown



to more than 100 full-time employees operating around the world. Come April, Syracuse will open the National Veterans Resource Center, a \$62.5 million facility, to be the center of IVMF's operations. For Haynie, 50, the building is about "planting a flag."

"It's about signaling to the rest of the higher-education community that these issues matter," he says, arguing that America has a moral obligation to ensure that "we get to a place where folks we send off to war don't come home and feel like an outsider in the same society that they went off to defend." —M.C.

Nelson Luna and Whitney Stephenson

INTEGRATING SCHOOLS

NEARLY 66 YEARS AFTER THE U.S. Supreme Court ruled racial segregation in public education unconstitutional, more than half of the nation's students still attend largely segregated school districts. In New York City, one of the country's most segregated school systems, students are leading the fight to change that.

Nelson Luna and Whitney Stephenson, both 19, founded Teens Take Charge at their public charter high school in 2017 to campaign for integration. Since then, Teens Take Charge activists from more than 30 high schools have led walkouts and a City Hall sit-in, protesting the uneven distribution of resources in the system and the admissions process for the city's specialized high schools, which enroll mostly white and Asian students.

Now first-generation college sophomores, Luna and Stephenson are still involved in that advocacy, though a team of current high school students, along with fellow student-led activist group IntegrateNYC, have pushed the movement forward. This spring, both groups are planning a citywide school boycott, echoing a 1964 antisegregation boycott by about 460,000 New York City students.

"Although it may look different in this era," Stephenson says, "it's still school segregation." —K.R.



SHE SCORES Diggins-Smith during a WNBA preseason game in 2018; she later said she played the whole season pregnant

Athletes of the WNBA

FIGHTING FOR A FAIR SHARE

By Enes Kanter

A DREAM CAME TRUE WHEN I WAS drafted into the NBA a decade ago. I never thought of anything more than putting in my best work and helping my team win. For the talented athletes of the WNBA, it is a different story. After making it professionally, they continue to battle for equitable pay, balanced media portrayal and fair treatment. They have to fight two battles—one on the court, and the other off court.

This is about more than pay; it's about recognition for their hard work as athletes. One of the reasons we're even talking about equal pay in sports today is because of the courageous fight of the U.S. women's national soccer team. It took winning the World Cup for their voices to be heard. As former WNBA president Lisa Borders has said, sexism is behind this problem, as "people do not believe that women can be superb professional athletes."

The conversation about pay equality in the WNBA got a jolt in 2018 when

star player A'ja Wilson tweeted that LeBron James' salary "must be nice." I remember her catching so much heat from that tweet. For speaking up, she was criticized. But in January, less than two years later, the WNBA and its players' union reached a new collective bargaining agreement (CBA) with improvements in pay and benefits. Before the CBA, female athletes received less than 30% of revenue-sharing and lost half of their salaries if they went on maternity leave during the season. During the off-seasons, many players went overseas to China and Russia, where the pay is six to 12 times more than WNBA salaries. These women are leaving their homes, their country, their friends, their families, working twice as hard and still getting paid less than male players do.

Michael Jordan's "flu game" is famous for so many reasons, yet Skylar Diggins-Smith's playing her entire 2018 season pregnant only led to her getting flak for taking the 2019 season off, because of postpartum depression, so she could return mentally and physically. In the NBA, we adopted a rule in the 2019–2020 season to have a mental-health professional on staff. The WNBA

doesn't have this rule. Here are these women, playing the same sport we are, receiving less than we do. And not just in pay—it's about being seen as an athlete, regardless of gender.

Pay disparity isn't only a women's issue; this is a human-rights issue. These women are our peers who, just like those of us in the NBA, inspire the next generation. I'm sure most of those who criticized Wilson have never even watched a game. Kobe said it best: there are women "who could play in the NBA right now." I think Diana Taurasi, Elena Delle Donne and Breanna Stewart could play in our league.

I applaud A'ja Wilson's courage. Her decision to speak up led to change. But I believe the rest of us, including myself, can do more to show our support for female athletes, so that they can get the respect and fair treatment they deserve. As Martin Luther King Jr. said, "We cannot walk alone." The more we all voice our support for women, the more united we will be as people.

Kanter, who founded the You Are My Hope campaign to fight against human-rights violations in his home country of Turkey, plays for the Boston Celtics

Shireen McSpadden

AGAINST AGEISM

LAST YEAR, CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR Gavin Newsom signed an executive order that would create a “Master Plan for Aging,” acknowledging that the state’s over-65 population is projected to grow from 5.5 million in 2016 to 8.6 million by 2030—and that the increased elderly population will require attention and investment. Shireen McSpadden, the executive director for San Francisco’s Department of Disability and Aging Services, is central to the effort. In late 2019, McSpadden, 56, was a key part of the formation of Reframing Aging San Francisco, a campaign that aims to empower older adults in the city. She sees ageism as an equity issue, one that leaves behind essential community members simply because of negative assumptions. “As we age in community, we need to continue to be a part of society,” she says. “That’s what keeps us going as humans.”

—MAHITA GAJANAN

Simran Jeet Singh

FAIRNESS FOR ALL FAITHS

GROWING UP SIKH IN SAN ANTONIO, Simran Jeet Singh felt “highly visible yet entirely unknown,” he says. He was a high school senior when a streak of hate crimes against Sikhs swept the U.S. in the months after 9/11, and he realized that “ignorance is actually a matter of life and death.” He’s turned that drive into a career as a scholar and advocate for religious freedom. On his podcast *Spirited*, he interviews prominent figures about spirituality, and he has a regular column for Religion News Service. Notably, he’s written about the idea of “religious supremacy.” Just as white supremacy is a dangerous thread in American life, he argues, so is the idea that one religion is superior. For Singh, 35, religious equality requires challenging the assumption that Christianity is the default. “Then,” he says, “we can actually create an even playing field for people of different traditions.”

On Aug. 25, he’ll release a children’s

book, *Fauja Singh Keeps Going*, the true story of a Sikh man who was the oldest person to run a marathon. “This has been my dream,” he says. “Growing up, we never saw a Sikh character in a children’s book.” But his children will.

—MADELEINE CARLISLE

Chase Strangio

DEMANDING LGBTQ RIGHTS



TRANSGENDER COMMUNITIES IN THE U.S. are fighting for rights across all facets of life, from demanding access to restrooms to protesting laws that aim to curb their medical care. And

Chase Strangio, who serves as the deputy director for transgender justice with the ACLU’s LGBT & HIV Project, is leading many of those battles. One was in South Dakota, against a bill that would make it a crime

for doctors to give hormone therapies to trans youth; the legislation was defeated in committee in February. Strangio, 37, says the stakes couldn’t be higher; per Human Rights Campaign figures, at least 26 trans or gender-nonconforming people, over 90% of whom were black trans women, were killed by violence in 2019.

For Strangio, the work is about making clear how acts of discrimination against trans people are connected to a larger movement for equality. “What we need is a broader demand for justice and allied mobilization that connects trans survival to other movements for justice,” he says. —M.G.

Kimberly Teehee

A VOICE FOR NATIVE AMERICANS

IN 1835, TUCKED AWAY IN A treaty ceding southeastern Georgia Cherokee land to the U.S., the government agreed that the Cherokee people “shall be entitled to a delegate in the House of Representatives.” Last August, the largest federally recognized tribe finally took Congress up on this offer by appointing Kimberly Teehee, 51,



to be its first U.S. House delegate.

The position isn’t Teehee’s only policymaking first. As the first senior policy adviser for Native American affairs in the White House Domestic Policy Council, she spearheaded the provision in the 2013 Violence Against Women Act reauthorization that lets tribal courts prosecute non-Indians who commit certain domestic-violence crimes on Indian lands. Over half of American Indian/Native Alaska women have experienced sexual violence. “Tribes, like other jurisdictions, should have the ability to prosecute crimes committed on their lands,” she says, “making sure American Indian women have the same protections that women have in this country.”

Teehee is still waiting to be seated in Congress, where, like the delegate from D.C., she would be nonvoting. But the symbolism of her presence would be strong, she says, as “an extra voice in the room” for her tribe and all others.

—OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

Alice Wong

AMPLIFYING THE
DISABLED COMMUNITY

AS THE FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR OF the Disability Visibility Project, an online community that amplifies the voices of disabled people in culture, Alice Wong is familiar with the host of challenges currently facing disabled people, such as proposed rules by the Social Security Administration that would cut access to benefits, or a new “public charge” immigration rule that will exclude disabled people from staying in the country if they depend on public benefits.

Although the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act ushered in parking spots and elevators for disabled people, Wong, 45, says such efforts aren’t enough to protect the community.

“There are constant attempts to decrease our rights, keep us separate and take away control of our narratives,” says Wong, who is currently putting together an anthology of first-person stories and essays from those in the disability community, set to come out this summer. “We need everyone to fight back with us.” —M.G.

VIEWPOINT

Janet Mock

TV CAN POINT US TO A FAIRER FUTURE

TTV IS A CONSTANT PRESENCE IN MY HOME, AS IS THE CASE with most Americans. According to Nielsen research, U.S. adults now spend almost six hours per day watching TV. Honestly, I spend more time with my television than I do with friends and family. Sitting on my couch with popcorn and gummy bears observing the lives of others unfolding in front of me is one of my most intimate interactions. We welcome people like us, and unlike us, into our homes. They show us what it means to be human, to love, to struggle and to dream. Television commands our attention. Sure, it's entertainment, fun and flashy, fast-moving—but it's also a highly effective communication tool. TV shows us who we are, where we stand as a society and how far we must go to reach equality for all.

Studies have shown that television, just like one's community, church and schools, helps us form ideas about our world, shaping our attitudes and beliefs. What we see on TV can introduce us to people of all colors, communities and classes, shifting consciousness and moving people to action. Many activists credit *Will & Grace* with laying the groundwork for marriage equality and *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* with boosting the feminist agenda and single working women. News coverage of civil rights protests swayed public opinion in favor of the cause of racial equality, while *Julia*, *Good Times* and *Roots* helped show white America what it means to be black in America.

Television requires us to welcome characters into our homes on a daily or weekly basis, increasing tolerance, understanding and empathy. I've seen this impact firsthand, having written and directed for *Pose*, a Golden Globe- and Emmy-winning drama series featuring a trailblazing cast of transgender heroines. I've heard viewers from around the world gush over how the series moves them—how these low-income LGBTQ characters of color, existing in the 1980s at the height of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, gave them a window into the universal struggle to be free: free to live as yourself, and free to love whom you want. As a black trans woman who spent her youth searching for reflection, finally, with *Pose*, I saw myself vaunted and dignified on a familiar screen. Those images assured me that my life mattered.

AFTER POSE'S SECOND SEASON, my mentor and frequent collaborator Ryan Murphy offered me an opportunity to time-travel to the gilded age of Hollywood to rewrite some wrongs. He pitched me his newest Netflix limited series, *Hollywood*, co-created with Ian Brennan, which puts a cast of outsiders, gay people, women over 40, sex workers and people of color at the center of a major Hollywood production set in 1947—just one year after Disney released its racist *Song of the South*, and seven

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years after Hattie McDaniel made history as the first black actor to win an Academy Award. We spun a fable about a neglected housewife (Patti Lupone) stepping into power as a studio chief. She greenlights a movie by a gay black writer (Jeremy Pope), starring a black woman (Laura Harrier) who is not a domestic worker or a club singer, but the heroine.

As we looked to the past, aware of just how broken it was, we realized television gave us an opportunity to imagine what equality could have looked like then, presenting a new vision for the future by centering those pushed to the margins. As we wrote, we asked: What would Hollywood be today if, six decades ago, the powers that be looked like us, and the people onscreen were given an opportunity to be seen in their totality? That question became our compass, allowing us to tell a revisionist history of what we wished Hollywood could be, fully utilizing the platform's powers for good. And in grappling with that question, we found ourselves examining a culture that too often overlooks the contributions and accomplishments of people of color, a culture that persecutes those who don't share our beliefs and shuts out gender and sexual minorities.

Television has the power to offer millions a gateway to better understand and fight for one another. It's only in the act of spending time with each other—which can happen on our screens—that we better understand the fight ahead of us: to ensure that we are all included in the American story.

Mock, a member of the 2018 TIME 100, is a writer, director and producer, best known for her work on Pose, The Politician and the upcoming Netflix limited series Hollywood

VIEWPOINT

Michael K. Honey

ECONOMIC INEQUALITY THROUGH KING'S EYES

WHEN MEMPHIS SANITATION WORKERS WENT ON STRIKE IN 1968, Martin Luther King Jr. knew they had a lesson to teach America. “You are reminding the nation,” he told attendees at a March 1968 rally there, “that it is a crime for people to live in this rich nation and receive starvation wages . . . working on a full-time basis and a full-time job getting part-time income.”

Economic justice was not new to his agenda. Today, many people identify King with his soaring “I Have a Dream” rhetoric at the Lincoln Memorial in 1963. But what was his dream? The March on Washington sought equality before the law, but also an economic bill of rights for poor white, black and brown workers. He had constantly linked civil rights and labor and poor people’s movements; as far back as 1957, he condemned “the tragic inequalities of an economic system which takes necessities from the masses to give luxuries to the classes.”

He would be killed by an assassin less than three weeks after that Memphis speech. And what has happened to King’s dream? Trump Administration tax cuts have allowed the wealthiest Americans to pay a lower tax rate than the poorest, and multibillion-dollar companies like Amazon are often able to effectively avoid paying federal taxes. Worker and union rights established in the New Deal era are fading, and Census Bureau figures released last fall show that income inequality in the U.S. is at its highest level on record.

Today, nearly 40 million Americans remain poor, and a majority of students in many schools do not have enough to eat. A huge swath of working people of all incomes and occupations live paycheck to paycheck, aware that their jobs, their homes, their health care, their education and their families remain vulnerable to an economy that treats them as expenses to be eliminated rather than people to be cared for.

MEMPHIS—THE PLACE King helped win union rights for sanitation workers, the place he died—is no exception. One-third of African Americans there lived in poverty in 2018, the year for which the most recent data is available. Most of the city’s public-school students need subsidized lunches, and black child-poverty rates are above 50%. Workers in expanding health care and service fields are stuck with low wages. Black political power has surged since King’s times, but black mayors won a “hollow prize,” as large Memphis employers like International Harvester, Firestone Tire and others closed their doors, undermining the largest group of the black middle class: unionized workers. Tax and budget cuts in the 1980s and again after the 2007–2008 financial meltdown destroyed budgets and crippled education. And though the police department

is now “integrated,” police-community relations remain tense and often explosive.

This all sounds too familiar to a country that spends twice as much on health care as any other advanced nation, where “right to work” laws subvert unions, where gun violence is at epidemic levels, where greed overpowers concern for the earth, where the top 1% of earners own more wealth than 90% of the rest of us combined. Alas, it is all too familiar to most Middle Americans. Economic inequality is not a problem just for poor people and those historically oppressed by racial, class and gender inequality.

To address interrelated evils, King called for a revolution of values. He saw violence as not coming just from the barrel of a gun. Poverty is violence; unemployment is violence; lack of education and hope are violence. Non-violence, in contrast, seeks to appreciate and value the humanity and work of every person, and to build coalitions with all who seek a better life.

To his dying day, King saw a new dispensation of economic justice as attainable. On April 3, 1968, he told a mass meeting of sanitation strikers and their supporters to remember that “either we go up together or we go down together.” The next day he was killed, lending a retrospectively prescient aura to his most famous words that night: “I may not get there with you, but I want you to know tonight, that we as a people will get to the Promised Land!” More than a half-century later, that promised land of economic justice remains out of reach.

Honey, a professor at the University of Washington Tacoma, is author of To the Promised Land: Martin Luther King and the Fight for Economic Justice

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Tapped out

MILLIONS OF AMERICANS LACK SAFE ACCESS
TO LIFE'S MOST ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT

BY JUSTIN WORLAND | PHOTOGRAPHS BY MATT BLACK FOR TIME

THIS PROJECT WAS SUPPORTED
BY THE PULITZER CENTER

DENMARK, S.C.

Water samples collected over a decade by Eugene "Horseman" Smith, 74, and his wife Pauline Ray Brown, 77; the couple began collecting the water and having it tested when they started to suspect, correctly, that it was contaminated







THE WHEELS ARE STILL ATTACHED TO THE HOUSE trailer that Pamela Rush calls home, but the 49-year-old mother of two is trapped. A lifelong resident of Lowndes County, Alabama, she lives off disability checks, struggling to pay the bills on a ninth-grade education. It's hard to attribute her situation to any one cause—she was born in one of the poorest counties in one of the poorest states and, like the rest of the county's mostly African-American population, she wrestles with the legacy of slavery and systemized discrimination. Just down the road from her home are the sharecroppers' quarters where she was born.

Yet the most immediate source of Rush's troubles is immediate: the puddle of sewage that has collected in her backyard, brewing with human feces. Whenever the toilet inside is flushed, the waste travels through a 10-ft. pipe straight to her backyard. Thousands of the county's

residents are in the same situation. Local government won't pay to build infrastructure to connect them to proper wastewater-disposal lines, so they're left to deal with the myriad problems caused by living in sewage that bubbles up into showers and bathtubs. A 2017 study of county residents found that 34% of participants suffer from hookworm, a parasitic infection contracted by walking barefoot on soil contaminated by fecal matter; among the issues associated with the disease is slow development in children. Charlie Mae Holcombe, 71, who lives in the area, said that the lack of sanitation accounts for the allergies,

DENMARK, S.C.

Saint Joseph Johnson, who died in January, in his kitchen last year; many in the town don't use tap water, saying the chemical HaloSan, which was added to protect pipes, has led to health issues



asthma and heart problems pervasive in the county. “Everyone’s dying,” she tells photographer Matt Black. Hers is one of dozens of stories Black gathered as he documented America’s water crisis for over a year.

FOR MOST AMERICANS, water does not get a second thought. It flows at the turn of a knob, at a cost that is all but negligible. This is as it should be. Being essential to life, clean water is a right under international law and U.N. declarations. Yet in the U.S., it’s far from guaranteed. More than 30 million Americans lived in areas where water systems violated safety rules at the beginning of last year, according to data from the Environmental Protection Agency. Others simply cannot afford to keep water flowing. As with basically all environmental and climate issues, poor people and minority communities are hit hardest.

In Denmark, S.C., local officials added the untested chemical HaloSan to drinking water, intending to combat rustlike deposits but leaving residents to deal with a slew of unexplained skin ailments. Suspicious of the water, Eugene “Horseman” Smith and his wife Pauline Ray Brown have collected samples for a decade, sharing them with scientists and an attorney. “Denmark is like a third-world country,” says Smith.

In Inez, Ky., residents still battle the remnants of millions of gallons of toxic sludge, replete with arsenic and mercury, that leaked into the water two decades ago. Locals face liver and kidney damage,

MARTIN COUNTY, KENTUCKY

A Sunday-evening service at Calf Creek Community Church, a non-denominational house of worship in an area where drinking water is still affected by a toxic-sludge spill two decades ago





RED MESA, ARIZ.

The remains of a water-storage tank razed because of uranium contamination; for decades during the Cold War, mines in the Navajo Nation produced the uranium used for nuclear weapons

as well as increased risk of cancer.

It's a public-health problem, the root of which varies from place to place—old pipes silently poisoning entire cities with lead, industrial sites leaking the carcinogenic industrial chemical known as PFAS into the waterways, uranium seeping into groundwater from where it's been mined. But the downstream effects are strikingly similar: damage to health that exacerbates the trials of poverty and a frayed social safety net. These in turn become years wiped off life expectancy and points lost from IQ scores.

In the Navajo Nation, where more than 300,000 people reside in a territory that stretches across parts of Utah, New Mexico and Arizona, residents unknowingly drank and played in water that uranium mining had made extremely hazardous. "Growing up, they didn't talk about how dangerous it was," said Melissa Sloan of Tuba City, Ariz., before she died in December of kidney cancer. "I drank the water; I bathed in the water."

A striking number of people, including babies, show traces of uranium in their blood. Infections develop in those who dare to shower. Summer Wojcik, a triage nurse at Utah Navajo Health System, says health care providers ask patients with infections if they have access to clean water. If not, they may keep them in a health care facility for a few days, to improve the odds of healing. "You'll hear those types of stories all over—infections, cancers," she says. "We have got to get fresh water for these people."

Beyond the diseases, contaminated water helps account for social decay. Residents on a desperate quest for safe water routinely drive for hours to buy and stash it. Jeremiah Kerley, 61, says he hitchhikes to Flagstaff to sell his plasma. "It's a source of income," he says. "I use

that to pay for our water."

For those without it, water amounts to an ongoing crisis. But no great urgency is felt in Washington, D.C., or in state capitals. Laws may be out of date, and existing rules ignored, but as an "issue," water seems to sprout up only when a seemingly one-off event like the Flint water crisis captures public attention.

But Flint is not a one-off event. In Michigan, officials put an entire community at risk to save money, then lost a bet that the risks would go unnoticed. Similar wagers are placed by politicians and policymakers across the country. "Legal standards are often compromises between what the data shows in terms of toxicity and risk, and how much it's going to cost," says Alexis Temkin, a toxicologist at the Environmental Working Group, a research and advocacy organization.

The odds are getting worse. A 2017 report card from the American Society of Civil Engineers gave the nation's drinking-water infrastructure a rating of D, and assessed that the U.S. needs to invest \$1 trillion in the next 25 years for upgrades. The alternative is more erosion, not by water but by the damage that occurs in its absence.

Inez, Ky., where the local riverway has been contaminated since 2000 by a giant runoff of coal-mining by-products, water bills have skyrocketed, and yet the residents say the problem hasn't been fixed. The tap produces what one resident called "fishy water." But local police made news when they arrested a resident for refusing to pay for water. "They've destroyed the waterways to mine coal," says Nina McCoy, an Inez resident. "We're all fighting our little fires, and we're not realizing that the fire is coming from above, and it's raining down on us."

—With reporting by KARA MILSTEIN □

Clockwise from top left:
collecting rainwater
to wash clothes in
LOVELY, KY.;
distributing bottled water in
DENMARK, S.C.;
a sheep corral without
running water in
BLACK FALLS, ARIZ.;
Theodore Fienberg, 5, who
was exposed to lead in the
water in **NEWARK, N.J.**









GAP, ARIZ.

Nellie Yellowhorse, 90, at her family's ranch home in the Navajo Nation; she lives with her two elderly sisters in the house, which has no running water

Battle for the ballot

VOTER-ACCESS LAWS MAY DETERMINE ELECTIONS IN 2020 AND BEYOND

BY VERA BERGENGRUEN

THE WINNER OF THE 2020 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION will depend not only on who votes but also on who doesn't. Four years after 77,744 ballots in three states gave the White House to Donald Trump, state lawmakers are battling over voting rules that will determine whether millions of Americans get a chance to cast a ballot in November.

So far this year, 29 states have introduced at least 188 bills to expand voting rights by making registration and absentee voting easier, and by restoring the vote to former felons. At the same time, legislators in 15 mostly Republican states have introduced at least 35 bills that would make it harder to vote, according to an analysis by the nonpartisan Brennan Center for Justice, often by imposing stricter voter-identification requirements.

Key Electoral College states like Florida and Virginia are among those still grappling with questions about ballot access. With the presidency and control of Congress on the line, "This could make or break the election," says Paul Smith, vice president of the Campaign Legal Center.

In 2018, Florida voters approved an amendment to restore the vote to 1.4 million people with felony convictions, a move celebrated by backers as the biggest voting-rights win in recent U.S. history. But more than a year later, its implementation remains mired in partisan legal battles over the Florida supreme court's ruling that felons have to pay back all fines and fees related to their convictions before being granted the right to vote. While a clause in the law allows those fees to be waived, it is mainly being used in Democratic-leaning counties. And as Florida's March 17 presidential primary gets closer, local election officials say they still have not received guidance on how to handle ex-felons' registrations.

Even so, voting-rights activists in the state say they're optimistic the recent changes Floridians voted for will make a difference in 2020. "This is the largest expansion of democracy in 50 years," says Neil Volz, deputy director of the Florida Rights Restoration Coalition, who himself recently regained his voting rights through Amendment 4.

In Kentucky, Democratic Governor Andy Beshear restored voting rights to 140,000 people with felony convictions immediately after taking office last fall. Weeks later,

GOP lawmakers introduced a bill mandating that voters carry a photo ID card with an expiration date, nominally to guard against voter fraud. Kentucky already requires ID to cast a ballot, and while the bill was slightly watered down, the GOP move would have largely impacted minorities, students at the state's largest universities whose ID cards lack expiration dates, and voters like the ex-felons who recently had their rights restored, experts say.

Voting-rights lawyers are also concerned about efforts to purge supposed noncitizens from voter rolls in states including Texas, New Jersey and Florida. In one effort led by Texas' then secretary of state David Whitley, state officials questioned the citizenship of about 98,000 voters in a review of rolls that relied on flawed data. A federal judge reprimanded state officials for having "created this mess" that unfairly targeted naturalized U.S. citizens, and ordered Texas counties to stop purging suspected noncitizens from the rolls.

In Virginia, Democrats took full control of state government for the first time in a generation last year, and have committed to voting-rights reform. They have introduced bills that would allow automatic registration as well as same-day registration, and are debating inserting an antigerrymandering amendment into the state constitution. Another proposal would allow early, excuse-free absentee voting in the 45 days leading up to an election. "It is a sea change," says Claire Guthrie Gastañaga, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union of Virginia. "We're about to open up the ballot box in our state in a way that it never was since Jim Crow." □

VOTING-RIGHTS LAWYERS ARE CONCERNED ABOUT EFFORTS TO PURGE SUPPOSED NONCITIZENS FROM VOTER ROLLS IN STATES INCLUDING TEXAS, NEW JERSEY AND FLORIDA

In their own words

WHEN THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT WAS PASSED IN 1965, it promised every American a vote. But that doesn't mean every American has an easy time casting it.

Over the past 10 years, at least 24 states have enacted new restrictions on voting, including requiring voters to show photo IDs and reducing time for early voting. Millions have been purged from voter rolls. State officials say the measures prevent voter fraud and keep registration lists updated. Voter advocates say the intention is to suppress voting, particularly in black and low-income communities. (Several studies have concluded that

U.S. voter fraud is extremely rare; the *Washington Post* said it found just four cases from the 2016 election.)

The Voting Rights Act prohibited jurisdictions with histories of racial discrimination from changing voting rules without federal approval. Since that provision was struck down in 2013 by the U.S. Supreme Court, more than 1,600 polling sites have closed, according to the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights.

Here, four people describe their experiences.

—MELISSA CHAN



LARRY HARMON SR., 63

U.S. Navy veteran Larry Harmon Sr. did not vote for at least six years. When he returned to the polls in 2015, he learned he had been struck from Ohio's voting rolls. Because of a uniquely aggressive practice of purging voters who fail to vote in a single federal election cycle, Ohio had started sending notices in 2010 to roughly 4 million people who had not cast ballots in the previous cycle, eventually erasing from voter rolls those who did not respond to the mailers, according to civic groups. Harmon says he doesn't remember receiving the notice. In 2016, he joined a lawsuit against Ohio's secretary of state to challenge the practice, and won. But in 2018, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled Ohio was within its rights to purge Harmon, who has since re-registered to vote there.

"I've lived in Ohio my entire life, except between 1974 and 1979 when I was in the Navy. My father and my grandfather were also in the Navy. I never thought my basic right to vote would change. It's really infuriating. They tell you that you're fighting for freedom, but whether that's the case is not true. You think you're a law-abiding citizen, and you go to vote and they say, 'No, you're not on the list.' It doesn't make any sense to me at all. If we can't vote, we're not American. That's what makes us an American—that we actually have a voice that matters. It always meant something to me, and as soon as they took it from me, I was ready to fight for it."

CRYSTAL MASON, 44

Crystal Mason made headlines after she was convicted in 2018 of illegally voting in Texas in the presidential election. Mason, who had served time for tax fraud, says she didn't know the state bans formerly incarcerated felons from voting if they're on supervised release, as she was. For voting-rights advocates, Mason's prosecution and the lengthy penalty she faces are meant to intimidate others. Mason, who is free on bail while she appeals, faces five years in prison if her conviction is upheld.

"I wouldn't have dared try to vote if it was explained to me, if it was in my papers or anything. There's no way that I would have done anything to jeopardize going back to prison. My dad and stepdad died while I was in prison. I was not able to go to their funerals. I went through a divorce in prison. I missed my kid's graduation and prom, holidays. I lost two great jobs. I'm fighting for my house. I not only take care of my three kids, but I raised my brother's four kids. It was devastating, overwhelming and hurtful to leave my kids again, to go to prison for something that I really believed that I had the right to do."



ELIUD BONILLA, 57

Eliud Bonilla, an engineer working on NASA's mission to reach the sun, was falsely accused of voter fraud in 2017 in an online report titled "Alien Invasion II," published by the Public Interest Legal Foundation. It labeled Bonilla, a U.S. citizen who had been voting since age 18, and thousands of other Virginia residents as noncitizens who had either illegally registered to vote or cast ineligible ballots. A 2019 settlement required the conservative group to apologize and scrub the voters' names from its website.

"I went through a whole variety of feelings. The first one was shock. Then I became indignant. I am a U.S. citizen by birth. I was born in Brooklyn, N.Y. So were my parents. I worried for my safety and my family's, because in the world that we live in today, especially the country we live in today, there are a lot of angry people trying to right any perceived wrong on their own.

"This is an emotional topic. Most people do not like to think that there's cheating in the electoral system. Where I live, there's a very large Hispanic, Latino population. In Northern Virginia, for years there's been tension from certain groups that are anti-immigrant.

"It just comes to prove that no one is safe. You're not shielded from anything—the good or the ugly—in this country. But for better or worse, we're in a democracy, and if you don't vote, you don't count. There's a reason why there are efforts to try to get you not to vote. If it were not important, no one would care. But this is an indication that it is important. It is sobering that after all these years we find ourselves in the same issues, that in the U.S. we haven't progressed as much as we should."



STACEY HOPKINS, 56

In 2017, Stacey Hopkins of Atlanta received a notice in the mail telling her to confirm her residential address within 30 days or be dropped from voter rolls. State officials call this "routine and legally required" as people leave Georgia, move counties or die. Hopkins had done none of those things, so the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia sued the county election board and Brian Kemp, then Georgia's secretary of state, on her behalf. A settlement allowed Hopkins to vote in the 2018 gubernatorial race pitting Republican Kemp against Democrat Stacey Abrams, who hoped to become America's first black female governor. Kemp won by 1.4 percentage points; Abrams in 2019 founded Fair Fight 2020, an organization to combat voter suppression.

"Particularly for the black community, voting is sacred. To receive that notice is like an affront. It takes you through a lot of emotions. It's like going through the stages of grief. It minimizes your existence. It reminds me that in 1776, I would not have been a voter then either. You feel helpless. You feel deceived. If you fight, you fight to keep yourself from being purged. You fight to get your voter registration recognized by the state. You manage to get to the polls, and then they turn around and electronically lynch you. It wasn't a mistake. It was intentional. It's about keeping power. This is state-sponsored violence. There are insidious anomalies that exist particularly when it comes to black voters. This is Jim Crow on steroids. They just evolved and changed in a way so that they're more subtle with it. But this is no different. They've just adapted to a digital age."

BONILLA: JARED SOARES FOR TIME; HOPKINS: IRINA ROZOVSKY FOR TIME

VIEWPOINT

Ken Masugi

THE DEBATE OVER AN AMERICAN IDEAL

THOSE FIVE FAMOUS WORDS FROM THE DECLARATION OF Independence sound simple enough: all men are created equal. For nearly 250 years, the U.S. has leaned on that founding proposition. In theory, its meaning is clear. In practice, battles have raged—sometimes literally—over what it means, not just for American government but for American life in general.

The false simplicity of the “self-evident” truth has led to divergent attitudes toward that fundamental proposition. Today, equality has become a cliché, drained of fire and revolutionary fervor. Any sort of perceived inequality—income, racial and ethnic differences, gender distinctions—will raise an accusation of injustice from some. But another view has it that the equality of the declaration is best expressed as equality of opportunity, a gradually expanding ideal that has come to erase distinctions that previously divided. We see this in the change from “may the best man win” to “may the best person win.”

Each side has strong points in its favor. The passion of those who see oppression today in this or that long-standing practice mirrors that of the 19th century’s fire-breathing abolitionists. Meanwhile, “equality of opportunity” has the advantage of taking account of natural differences. Equality in all things? We don’t need to watch the Super Bowl to dismiss it as fanciful.

The utopians might respond that prioritizing this supposed equality results in the very inequalities that they question: racial privilege, elite colleges, losers, sexism. They would argue that true equality requires taking from some and giving to others, to even out the differences. And so equality seems absurd. Either it doesn’t exist or, if we claim it exists, it seems to defy reality. But Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln were not fools. They were neither cynics nor utopians.

FOR CLARIFICATION, we should return to Abraham Lincoln’s subtle and profound teaching about equality, at a moment when that foundation was threatened by a form of inequality everyone today condemns: slavery. He once gave an instructive exercise in trying to prevent civil war. In opposing the recently announced Dred Scott decision, in which the Supreme Court deprived African Americans of not only citizenship but of human dignity, Illinois Senate candidate Lincoln parried the vicious racial demagoguery on the part of incumbent Senator Stephen Douglas. When Douglas accused him of being in favor of interracial marriage, Lincoln acknowledged that most of his white listeners opposed “amalgamation” with black people. (Running for office in a state that prohibited slavery but also discriminated against black people in innumerable ways, he could not dismiss that fact.)

‘EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY’ HAS THE ADVANTAGE OF TAKING ACCOUNT OF NATURAL DIFFERENCES. EQUALITY IN ALL THINGS? WE DON’T NEED TO WATCH THE SUPER BOWL TO DISMISS IT AS FANCIFUL



Careless listeners then as now might conclude that Lincoln shared this “natural disgust.” But in fact, his explanation defends liberty for all and justifies equality as an ideal. Just because he did not want to enslave a woman, he said, did not mean he personally wanted to marry her. “In some respects she certainly is not my equal; but in her natural right to eat the bread she earns with her own hands without asking leave of anyone else,” he went on, “she is my equal, and the equal of all others.”

His listeners did not have to change their racist views in order to be antislavery; they did not have to want a world in which everyone had what amounts to an equal experience to believe everyone should benefit according to her own work. In fact, Lincoln would define slavery in five words: “You work, and I eat.” And those who would stop others from enjoying the full earnings of their own work, even in the service of more equal outcomes, defy the most basic equality.

From that equality can grow a new political future not only for those freed from slavery but also for those who were formerly masters. It might take generations to create that mutual respect, in which we are a nation of equal individuals, not a nation of fixed tribes, incapable of change. Lincoln brought his audience—people who may have been morally vicious, indifferent or even fanatically against slavery—together on the side of the founders. We today are only human, but they were too.

Masugi, who was an adviser to Justice Clarence Thomas when Thomas was chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, is a senior fellow of the Claremont Institute

The sickness of our system

HEALTH CARE COSTS UNDERMINE WORKING-CLASS LIVES

BY ANNE CASE AND ANGUS DEATON

AMERICANS SPEND VAST SUMS ON HEALTH CARE. CERTAINLY, health care is expensive all over the world, and it makes good sense for rich countries to spend large amounts to extend their citizens' lives and to reduce pain and suffering. But America does this about as badly as it is possible to imagine.

Health care can sometimes harm people, through medical mistakes, or the overprescription of opioids. But there is also harm to people's lives from its extraordinary and unnecessary costs. The percentage of national income that is absorbed by health care has grown over the past half-century, from 5% in 1960 to 18% in 2017, reducing what is available for anything else from 95% in 1960 to 82% today. The costs of health care contribute to the long-term stagnation in wages; to fewer good jobs, especially for less educated workers; and to rising income inequality.

The U.S. health care system spent \$10,739 per person in 2017, about five times what the country spends on defense and about three times what it spends on education. High costs inflate the earnings of many providers and make the industry unnecessarily large. The cost of employer-provided health insurance, largely invisible to employees, not only holds down wages but also destroys jobs, especially for less skilled workers, and replaces good jobs with worse jobs at lower wages. Health care costs directly hurt those without insurance, while those who are insured must pay co-payments, deductibles and employee contributions. Health costs also affect federal and state governments, which pay for Medicare and Medicaid. Governments must collect more taxes; provide less of something else, such as infrastructure or public education; or run deficits that shift the burden to future taxpayers. We could cut back costs by at least a third without compromising our health.

American health care is the most expensive in the world, and yet American health is among the worst among rich countries. The chart accompanying this story shows life expectancy and health expenditure per capita from 1970 to 2017. It highlights just how far off course the U.S. has drifted.

The U.S. has lower life expectancy than the other wealthy countries but vastly higher expenditures per person. In

1970, the countries were not very far apart, with American life expectancy not much worse and expenditures not much higher, but other countries have seen faster improvements in health and slower increases in costs. In 2017, the Swiss lived 5.1 years longer than Americans but spent 30% less per person; other countries achieved a similar length of life for still fewer health dollars. If a fairy godmother were to reduce the share of health care in American GDP to Switzerland's, 5.6% of our GDP (or more than a trillion dollars) would be available for other things. That is more than \$3,000 a year for each person in the U.S., or about \$8,300 per household. If each household had been given an additional \$8,300 in 2017, median income growth over the past 30 years would have been double what it actually was. These very large numbers are just the waste of health care.

America is a rich country, and it makes sense for Americans to pay for more and better health care. Yet Americans do not use more of most medical services compared with other countries' citizens. Americans do seem to have a more luxurious system—business rather than coach, as it were—but as with business and coach passengers, everyone reaches their destination at the same time.

HOW IS IT POSSIBLE that Americans pay so much and get so little? The money is certainly going somewhere. What is waste to a patient is income to a provider. The industry is not very good at promoting health, but it excels at promoting wealth among health care providers, including some successful private physicians who

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INEQUALITY IN
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operate profitable practices. Physicians are the largest single occupation among the top 1% of incomes. The industry also delivers vast sums to the owners and executives of pharmaceutical companies, to medical-device manufacturers, to insurers and to large, ever more monopolistic hospitals. Much of the difference in costs compared with those of other countries comes from vastly higher prices. American doctors get paid almost twice as much as the average doctor in other wealthy countries. The effect on costs is limited because the U.S. also has fewer doctors per capita—physician-led groups have been effective in holding salaries up by holding down the number of places in medical schools, and by excluding well-qualified foreign doctors.

In a private health-insurance system like that in the U.S., insurance companies, doctors' offices and hospitals spend huge sums on administration. In a single-payer system, more than half of these costs would be eliminated. Last, consolidation of hospitals reduces competition and raises the prices that insurers pay to cover patients; hospitals are more profitable and patients pay more for their health care.

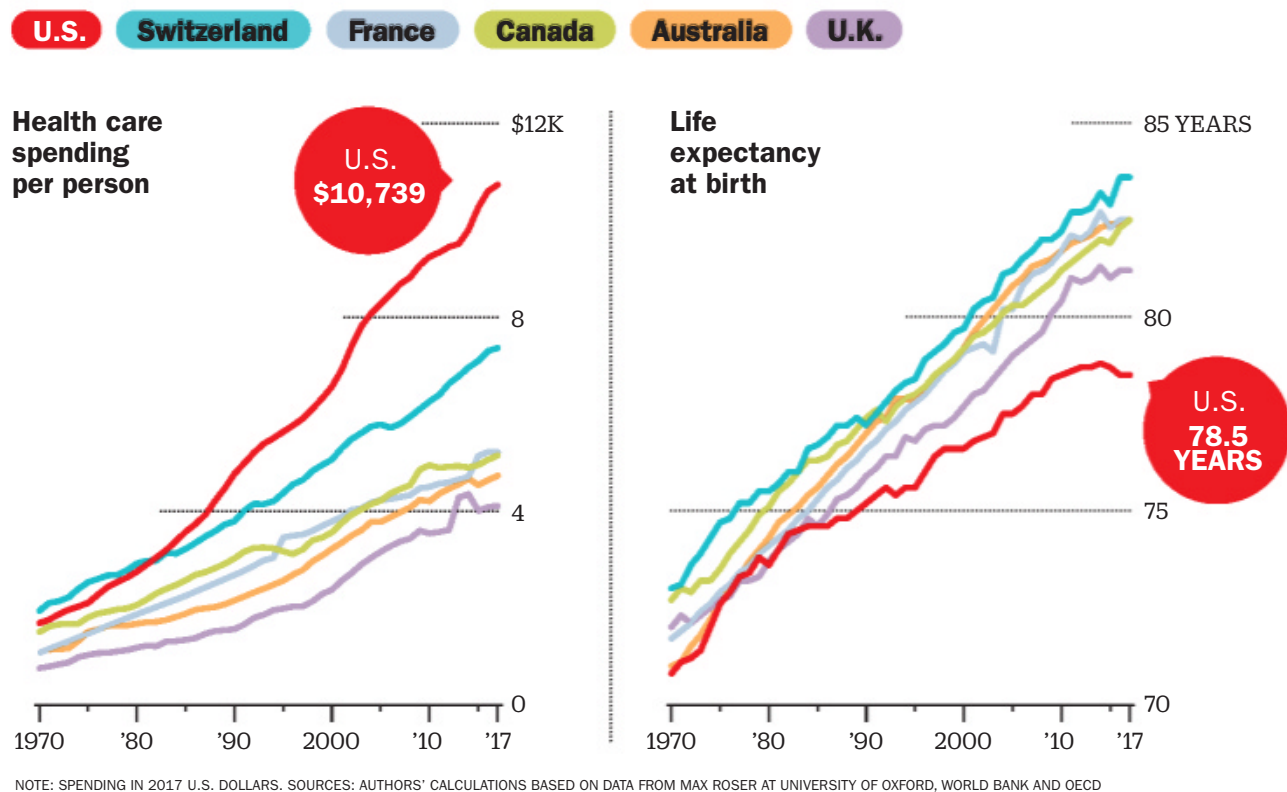
Half of all non-elderly Americans (about 158 million people) have health insurance through an employer. Employer-provided insurance is typically well liked by those who are covered, although it is not without costs for the employee. On average, employees in 2017 paid about \$1,200 (18%) of the cost of an individual policy, or \$5,700 (29%) of a family policy. They also pay health-related taxes, and they have to meet co-payments at the time of treatment, as well as deductibles.

Many employees think employer contributions—the other 71% of the (average) \$20,000 family policy—are free to them. Yet they are not free to the firm, and they affect how much firms are prepared to pay in wages and how many workers they employ. For an employer, it is not the wage that matters but rather what the firm has to pay to hire the worker, including the costs of health insurance and other benefits. Employees may think they are being given a gift, little realizing that what their employers care about is the total they pay, not to whom they pay it. The employee “gift” is being deducted, partially or fully, from wages. Worse still, employers faced with large increases in health premiums may eliminate jobs or outsource work to firms that pay less and provide fewer benefits.

Insurance works only when sick and healthy people are pooled together, in America by employment, and in other rich countries by government fiat across the whole population. Without subsidies for those with low incomes, and without some guarantee that everyone is always in the

High costs, low return

The U.S. has spent more on health care per person since 1970 than other developed countries, but doesn't have a higher life expectancy to show for it



system, insurance cannot work. Leaving health care to the market leaves many uninsured.

Americans like to believe that their system is a free-market one, in spite of the fact that the government is paying half of the cost, is paying the prices demanded by pharmaceutical companies without negotiation, is permitting professional associations to restrict supply, and is subsidizing employer-provided health care through the tax system.

The historical accident of employer-based coverage is a huge barrier to reform. So is the way that the health care industry is protected in Washington by its lobbyists—five for every member of Congress. Our government is complicit in an extortion that is an important contributor to income inequality in America today. Through pharma companies that get rich by addicting people, and through excessive costs that lower wages and eliminate good jobs, the industry that is supposed to improve our health is undermining it.

Deaton, the recipient of the 2015 Nobel Prize for Economics, and Case are professors of economics at Princeton University. This essay is adapted from their new book, Deaths of Despair and the Future of Capitalism. Copyright © 2020 by Princeton University Press

Q+A

Kimberlé Crenshaw, the law professor at Columbia and UCLA who coined the term intersectionality to describe the way people's social identities can overlap, on the politicization of her idea, its lasting relevance and why all inequality is not created equal

You introduced intersectionality more than 30 years ago. How do you explain what it means today? These days, I start with what it's not, because there has been distortion. It's not identity politics on steroids. It is not a mechanism to turn white men into the new pariahs. It's basically a lens, a prism, for seeing the way in which various forms of inequality often operate together and exacerbate each other. We tend to talk about race inequality as separate from inequality based on gender, class, sexuality or immigrant status. What's often missing is how some people are subject to all of these, and the experience is not just the sum of its parts.

How do women experience inequality differently than men? Where do we see that in our daily lives? When we talk about inequality, we are often talking about material differences in conditions of life. Take income inequality. Numerous statistics show that women still get paid less for the same work. That multiplies over a lifetime and means that the problem gets worse the older women get. There's also a term called the feminization of poverty, which speaks to all the ways that life circumstances—like child rearing, divorce, illness—impact women more profoundly. Across the social plane, from issue to issue, from institution to institution, you see women doing on average more poorly than men.

How does race affect that picture? When you add on top of that other inequality-producing structures like race, you have a compounding. So for example, data show that white women's median wealth is somewhere in the \$40,000 range. Black women's is \$100.

Where do you see politics coming into play? The issues that concern women are often afterthoughts. Even the Democrats' approach to racial inequality is focused primarily on men and boys. Anything that's meant to address gender inequality has to include a racial lens, and

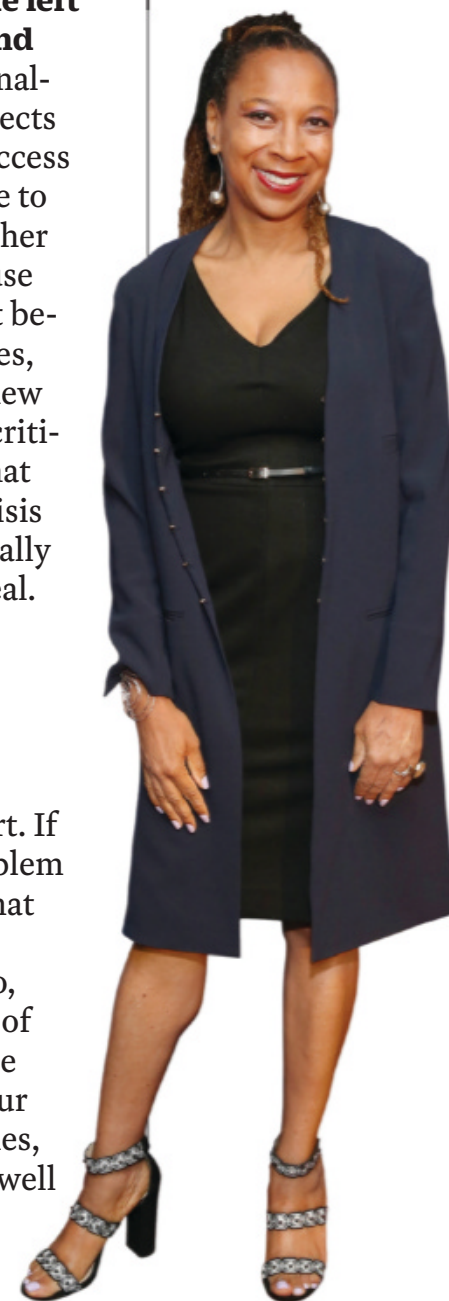
anything that's meant to address racial inequality has to include a gender lens. Unfortunately that hasn't been the center of political and policy debate.

Why not? The image of the citizen is still a male citizen. When you get to a few gender topics—like reproductive rights—then we talk about women. But politics and policy are pretty much like medicine used to be and still is: the male body is the body.

What do you make of criticisms from conservatives that concepts like intersectionality are a means of fetishizing victimization, that the left interprets disadvantages as a kind of moral superiority? Intersectionality is simply about how certain aspects of who you are will increase your access to the good things or your exposure to the bad things in life. Like many other social-justice ideas, it stands because it resonates with people's lives, but because it resonates with people's lives, it's under attack. There's nothing new about defenders of the status quo criticizing those who are demanding that injustices be addressed. It's all a crisis over a sense that things might actually have to change for equality to be real.

What advice would you give the average person about what they can do today to help achieve more equality in America? Self-interrogation is a good place to start. If you see inequality as a "them" problem or "unfortunate other" problem, that is a problem. Being able to attend to not just unfair exclusion but also, frankly, unearned inclusion is part of the equality gambit. We've got to be open to looking at all of the ways our systems reproduce these inequalities, and that includes the privileges as well as the harms. —KATY STEINMETZ

'THE IMAGE OF THE CITIZEN IS STILL A MALE CITIZEN'



MONICA SCHIPPER—THE NEW YORK WOMEN'S FOUNDATION/GETTY IMAGES

VIEWPOINT

Raj Chetty + David Williams

THE AMERICAN DREAM BY THE NUMBERS

ECONOMIC DISPARITIES BETWEEN RACIAL GROUPS HAVE persisted for centuries in America. To understand the drivers of these disparities, we analyzed new data on 20 million children to examine how economic outcomes change across generations: not just where people are today, but where their children will likely end up. We find that race matters—even among families in the same socioeconomic class. For example, black children born to low-income parents have just a 2.5% chance of rising to the top fifth of the household-income distribution as adults. White children born into families with the same income are four times more likely to reach that threshold.

Perhaps most surprising, the data reveal that growing up in a high-income family provides no insulation from these disparities. Black children have very high rates of downward mobility, such that even when they grow up in affluent families, they still have a very strong likelihood of ending up at the bottom of the income distribution.

For white Americans, pursuing the American Dream is like climbing an income ladder. For black Americans, it's more like being on a treadmill: even after you climb out of poverty in one generation, there is a very high probability of the next generation being pulled back down.

Further investigation reveals that these gaps are entirely driven by men's outcomes. Black and white women growing up in families with comparable incomes have similar incomes as adults. But black and white men growing up in families with the same income see substantial gaps throughout their lives. Incarceration rates are especially stark: over 20% of black men born to the lowest-income families are incarcerated on a given day.

THESE FINDINGS ARE DEEPLY PERSONAL for both of us: one, an immigrant from India whose family was drawn to the U.S. by the promise of the American Dream; the other, raised in Detroit, the child of an African father and white mother, the same demographic for whom that dream has become almost nonexistent.

Our findings show that family characteristics and innate abilities are not the root of the problem. Both black and white boys have better outcomes in good neighborhoods: places with low poverty rates and high-quality schools. Black men are especially likely to thrive in areas with low levels of racial bias and a larger fraction of two-parent households in the black community. These findings show that the black-white gap is not immutable: more efficient programs and targeted policies have the potential to make a lasting difference.

Our organization has been working with housing authorities in the Seattle area to pilot one program called Creating Moves

to Opportunity (CMTO). The program focuses on reducing the challenges that families face when using rental assistance from the federal government to find housing in upwardly mobile neighborhoods. Families that receive housing counselors and other support through CMTO are almost four times more likely to move to these high-opportunity neighborhoods. Children living in these places are more likely to attend college and earn more in adulthood. This program shows that the segregation endemic to many cities can be addressed through modest changes.

Ultimately we must ensure that all neighborhoods provide access to opportunity. Promising demonstrations, like the Harlem Children's Zone in New York City, have transformed communities and the lives of many black youth. But more work is needed to better understand how to create such neighborhood transformation at scale.

Further, we need more research to understand why even young men in affluent families are not immune to the pull of downward mobility. Helping middle- and higher-income black families keep their position is as important as understanding how to create more upward mobility for all.

We all want the same thing for our children: the idea that no matter where you start in life you have the opportunity to achieve success. The new science of opportunity can point to real solutions that can change lives and help build a future where opportunity isn't just the American Dream, but the American way.

Chetty, a professor at Harvard University, is the founder of Opportunity Insights. Williams serves as its director of policy outreach

**BOTH BLACK
AND WHITE BOYS
HAVE BETTER
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IN GOOD
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PLACES WITH
LOW POVERTY
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SCHOOLS**



Closed doors

WHEN LANDLORDS REFUSE TO ACCEPT FEDERAL HOUSING VOUCHERS, LOW-INCOME FAMILIES HAVE NOWHERE TO GO **BY ABBY VESOULIS / CHARLOTTE, N.C.**

THE STAY LODGE HOTEL ROOM IN CHARLOTTE, N.C., where Shanna Lee lives with her 3-year-old daughter, Lavi, isn't much to look at. There's a queen-size bed pushed up against the wall, a mini-fridge in the corner and a toddler's pink kitchen play set purchased for \$5. The most valuable item in the room sits atop a counter in a plastic sleeve: an unused federal Housing Choice Voucher.

In theory, that little piece of paper would contribute around \$512 for a \$1,012 two-bedroom for Lee and her daughter, covering the difference between 30% of her income and a unit's market rate. But Lee, 34, can't find a new landlord willing to accept it. The last two places that took her voucher failed routine inspections, which meant the local housing agency could no longer pay its portion of the rent. So, by no fault of her own, Lee was evicted. Twice.

Since then, she has spent nearly \$500 in application fees applying to at least 10 places, hoping someone would accept her voucher, which used to be known as Section 8 funding. But no luck. "I feel like I'm wasting my time calling because as soon as you say 'Section 8': *Click*. You get a dial tone, or you get an attitude," says Lee, who usually works a double shift, Thursday through Sunday, as a waitress at the Waffle House. She makes \$2.13 per hour, plus tips, and pays Stay Lodge's \$200 weekly rate. "I'm living paycheck to paycheck," she says.

Getting a Housing Choice Voucher in the first place can feel like hitting the lottery. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) allocates more than \$20 billion each year to local housing agencies. But that's not enough to provide vouchers to all who need them. The Urban Institute estimates 25.7 million households are eligible for housing assistance. The average family gets stuck on a wait-list for a year and a half, but many exceed seven years, according to a 2016 National Low Income Housing Coalition report. Some cities, including Charlotte, have temporarily stopped letting people add their names to the wait-lists altogether. "I've been on a Section 8 waiting list since I had my first daughter," says Lee's sister, Shneila Lee, who relies on a temporary local housing subsidy resembling the federal Housing Choice Voucher program. "She's about to be 12 this year."

Once families get their hands on a voucher, they have as little as 60 days to redeem the document before it expires. As both Lee sisters have discovered, that's harder than it seems. More than a third of families who received new vouchers in Charlotte between 2016 and 2019 couldn't use them before they expired. A 2018 Urban Institute study found that landlords nationwide often refuse to accept vouchers. In Fort Worth, 78% of landlords contacted by the Urban Institute wouldn't take vouchers. In Los Angeles, it was 76%; in Philadelphia, 67%.

Landlords' reluctance stems in part from stereotypes of voucher recipients as lazy, says A. Fulton Meachem Jr., who heads Charlotte's public-housing agency. "That's so far from the truth," Meachem says. "These are families that are working every single day that can't help the fact that it takes two or three or four jobs in order to afford to live in the city."

Racism is also a factor. The 1968 Fair Housing Act makes it illegal for landlords to deny tenants on the basis of race, color, national origin, religion, sex, familial status or disability. But there's no federal law prohibiting them from refusing tenants because of where their rent checks come from. When at least 48% of Housing Choice Voucher recipients are black and 18% are Hispanic, refusing to take vouchers "can be a mask for racial discrimination," says Senator Tim Kaine, a Virginia Democrat. He imitates landlords' argument: "'Oh, no, we're not discriminating based on race. We just don't take vouchers that are disproportionately used by minority families.'"

The result is a benefits program that

SHANNA LEE, 34, has been living in a Charlotte hotel room since November; she has a housing voucher that is supposed to help her secure an affordable apartment, but can't find a landlord willing to accept it





often doesn't benefit anybody—and reveals the paradox of America's housing crisis. At a time when one-quarter of American renters are spending more than half their incomes on housing, even the working families lucky enough to receive federal housing assistance often still end up without a roof over their heads.

THE DILEMMA IS DECADES in the making. For nearly a century, key government programs have explicitly excluded minorities, creating a system in which white families were able to purchase houses in suburban areas, build equity and pass down wealth to their kids, while families of color couldn't. The 1934 National Housing Act, for example, transformed the housing market by offering federally backed mortgages. But families of color were

A THIRD-FLOOR WALK-UP isn't ideal for Shneila Lee's children with special needs, but she worries she won't find another landlord willing to accept her housing subsidy

denied access; appraisers were warned to consider how "socially or racially inharmonious groups" in predominantly white neighborhoods would affect neighborhood appeal. For decades, agents used color-coded maps on which black and mixed-race neighborhoods were shaded red to determine where to issue loans. Redlining, as the practice was known, was outlawed in 1968. But discrimination hasn't disappeared.

"George Wallace is no longer here stopping individuals from coming places," says Meachem, referring to the segregationist former governor of Alabama. "But it has now been reborn

in policy. So we got little George Wallace policies in these cities that are in a lot of cases invisible to people."

A 2018 Consumer Financial Protection Bureau report found that people of color are still disproportionately denied mortgages: 18.4% of black applicants and 13.5% of Hispanic applicants were denied, vs. an 8.8% denial rate for white applicants. Today, the homeownership rate among black households is just 7% higher than it was in 1950.

It used to be that people in need of an affordable home, like Lee and her daughter Lavi, were directed to public-housing facilities. But President Richard Nixon put a moratorium on the construction of new projects in 1973 and shifted HUD's focus to giving families Section 8 vouchers to offset rental costs in the market.

Private landlords have never loved the

plan. That's in part because of bureaucratic delays. While typical tenants sign leases and submit their first month's rent within days, voucher holders in some cities can wait weeks for local housing agencies to verify ownership of the property, create accounts and complete safety inspections. "It's not reasonable to expect a landlord to wait 50 to 60 days," acknowledges Ben Goldsmith, a volunteer tenant organizer with the Chicago Housing Initiative. It's a problem that "leads to homelessness or lack of choice for the [voucher] recipient," he adds.

The safety inspections are also a sticking point. HUD requires landlords who accept federal housing vouchers to submit their units to regular inspections and to make improvements when necessary. Landlords say the process can be time-consuming and costly. But advocates argue that housing agencies' requirements are often less onerous than municipal ones. "To say, 'I don't want to do the inspection process' is like saying, 'I don't want people to catch me breaking the law,'" says Isaac Sturgill, a North Carolina housing attorney.

If a landlord fails to make required improvements, the local housing agency can stop issuing payments. That makes sense on some level—the government shouldn't pay landlords for unsafe units. But it often leaves voucher recipients in the lurch. That's what happened to Shanna and Lavi Lee in November. When the inspector found mold in their home and her landlord failed to address the problem, the agency stopped paying the rent. Shanna, unable to make up the difference in rent, was evicted. She and Lavi had no place to go and nowhere to put their furniture. "I had to put it out on the street and let trash take it," Lee says.

Local housing agencies are trying to make the program more appealing to landlords. For example, Charlotte's public-housing agency, which was recently rebranded as Inlivian, now offers cash incentives. Landlords get \$250 upon signing a lease with a voucher recipient, and \$1,000 risk-mitigation awards if recipients damage their property. Some local governments are also ramping up efforts to outlaw discrimination based on where tenants' rent comes from. Over the past couple of decades, more than a dozen states and nearly 90

cities and counties have passed so-called source-of-income protections, which forbid landlords from denying tenants based on that information, and Senator Kaine reintroduced a bill that would outlaw such discrimination nationwide.

But if such laws are a step in the right direction, advocates say they're not enough. Both Washington, D.C., and Newark, N.J., have source-of-income laws on the books, but the 2018 Urban Institute study found that 15% of Washington landlords and 31% of Newark ones still wouldn't accept tenants with vouchers.

Last year, Tiana Martin, a federal employee, experienced this disconnect. After inquiring about a unit in Latrobe Apartments near Washington's Dupont Circle, she received a text message from an employee of the firm that owns the building. "Unfortunately we do not accept Section 8," the text read, according to a screenshot viewed by TIME. Latrobe's website repeated the message: "We do not accept housing vouchers at this community."

Martin, a black transgender woman, filed a discrimination lawsuit that's now pending. "I know what it means to be discriminated against based on your gender, and now on my housing. I'm like, Dang, what else can they come up with?" she says. (Latrobe has since edited its website, and the firm that owns the building claims the agent who texted Martin was misinformed, according to a statement provided to *Washington City Paper*. Martin found a willing landlord in a different D.C. neighborhood.)

Charlotte doesn't have a source-of-income law, so Lee couldn't file suit even if she wanted to. The stress of dealing with her living situation is taking a toll. She was recently hospitalized for a thoracic aneurysm, which her physicians said was stress-related.

On a recent rainy morning in Charlotte, Lavi visited her aunt Shneila's third-story walk-up so her mother could go to a doctor's appointment. Shneila applied to at least six rental units before she found a landlord willing to accept her local housing subsidy. "Those two have compromised immune systems," she says, pointing to two of her children, who were born prematurely. "I can't bring them to a shelter," she adds, too aware of how close she came. "We can't be homeless." □

8 RADICAL IDEAS FOR EQUALITY NOW

5. FREE PUBLIC COLLEGE

College costs have soared in recent years, saddling millennials with huge student debt—just as the pay gap between college grads and everyone else hits record levels. To solve some of these issues, Democratic presidential candidates Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren have both proposed plans to make tuition free at all public two-year and four-year colleges in the U.S., while canceling substantial amounts of student debt.

Their plans differ, but both argue that making public college free would give more Americans access to higher education, help them get better jobs and boost the economy.



6. WEB ACCESSIBILITY

In 1990, the Americans With Disabilities Act ostensibly outlawed discrimination against disabled people in all areas of public life. But 30 years later, huge portions of the Internet are unusable for people with disabilities. This is partially because the ADA does not specifically mention web accessibility. Over time, a consortium of web experts created the Web Content Accessibility Guidelines, but the DOJ has never offered official guidance about what is legally required. Now disability advocates, and lawyers filing a growing number of ADA lawsuits, are arguing that companies must make their websites accessible—because, they say, the Internet is fundamental to public life.

Q+A

Henry Louis Gates Jr., *Emmy-winning historian and head of the Hutchins Center for African & African American Research at Harvard University, on the origins of modern inequality, America's missed opportunities and where the fight goes next*

How do you see the state of equality today fitting into the history of equality? One of the most dramatic shifts to the structure of the African-American community has been the doubling of the black middle class and the quadrupling of the black upper middle class since 1970. When we look at the child-poverty rate, we would have expected that would go down dramatically too. But it didn't. Usually when we're talking about equality, we're talking about the black community vs. the white community. But I'm very concerned about the inequality within the African-American community.

How did this situation come about? People like me who entered Yale around 1969 are solid members of the American upper middle class, and it's because of affirmative action. My colleague Lani Guinier once said that affirmative action initially was a class escalator, but now it's a class perpetuator. Many black students admitted to Ivy League universities are the children of the upper middle class—the very people whose class status was transformed by affirmative action. That should be enormously troublesome to every African American because we need the curve of class in the black community to resemble the larger curve for American society as a whole. And it doesn't.

What do you think should be done about that? One, we have to defend affirmative action. Two, we have to change the way we fund public schools so the amount spent per child is the same in every district. I'm not optimistic about that happening, but that would be the greatest contribution to equality across the board.

How would you describe the state of racial equality in the U.S. today? I think each black person still fights stereotypes about racial difference that are inherited from the 19th century and the institution of slavery—if you just look on the Internet, many people see a black person and think that they're fundamentally inferior to a white person who is the inheritor of “world civilization.”

So scholars like me spend a lot of time in an endless effort to show that there were black people of great intellectual attainment even thousands of years ago.

Is there a moment in American history you think stands out as the closest we've come to full racial equality? We believed we were closest the day Barack Obama was elected President. Unbeknownst to us, his victory bred a deep level of resentment and anxiety that overlapped with larger changes in the economic prospects of members of the American working class.

Was there ever a point at which full racial equality could have been achieved? Oh yeah! If Thomas Jefferson and the founders had actually believed that all men were created equal, they should have acted on it and abolished slavery. The next great opportunity was 1865. If, at the end of the Civil War, black men—ideally people, but it was only going to be men—were given the right to vote, and if land in the South was redistributed as reparations for their contribution to the economy and the horrible traumas of slavery, we wouldn't be having this conversation.

Are you hopeful this conversation could ever be unnecessary? Yes, inevitably. We used to talk about race in binary terms: black people and white people. Now we have a multiplicity of ethnic groups, and all of them are going to be fighting for their economic rights, their social rights and political rights. We need to think about coalitions across the color line, including coalitions between white workers and black workers whose economic interests are exactly the same. —OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

'EACH BLACK PERSON STILL FIGHTS STEREOTYPES THAT ARE INHERITED FROM THE 19TH CENTURY'



JEMAL COUNTESS—STATUE OF LIBERTY—ELLIS ISLAND FOUNDATION/GETTY IMAGES

VIEWPOINT

R. Eric Thomas

A WEDDING ANTHEM OF INCLUSION

“NO UNION IS MORE PROFOUND THAN MARRIAGE, FOR IT embodies the highest ideals of love, fidelity, devotion, sacrifice and family,” the pastor said at our wedding ceremony, borrowing from Justice Anthony Kennedy’s opinion in *Obergefell v. Hodges*, the Supreme Court case that made same-sex marriage equality the law of the land. I realize now that I didn’t understand the gravity of those words. Everything I did that day was a leap of faith, but when you’re in a church, all you need is faith, isn’t it?

I’d left the ceremony up to David, my now husband, and busied myself with the reception, asking one of the singers to perform a medley of three Whitney Houston songs. Originally, I’d suggested that she perform the *Bodyguard* soundtrack followed by *The Preacher’s Wife* and close with Whitney’s version of the national anthem.

David, bless his heart, actually considered having someone sing the national anthem at our wedding. Can you imagine, “The Star-Spangled Banner” at an interracial gay wedding in the heart of a sanctuary city with attendees ranging from a World War II vet to the mayor’s black LGBTQ liaison to my cousin Martin, who did multiple tours in Afghanistan, to our nephew Michael, a mixed-race boy, then 3 years old, growing up in South Carolina? Child, that place would have looked like a game of whack-a-mole, with some people standing up, some taking a knee and some looking around like, “Honey, what is happening in this place on this day?” Now, that’s church.

Thinking back, I almost wish we had introduced the chaos of patriotism to the proceedings. It was there already. Love is political. Church is political. Our friends and family—queer folks, trans folks, straight folks, white folks, black folks, Latinx folks, Asian folks, baby boomers, Gen X-ers, millennials, Democrats, Republicans, socialists, libertarians, Christians, Jews, Buddhists, Muslims, agnostics, questioners, atheists—are political. This act—daring to say that we believe in each other—is political. Daring to believe in anything is political. Daring to believe that we’ll exist in the future in America is political.

At one point, as is common in the Presbyterian tradition, the pastor read vows that our community was making to us. “Do all of you pledge your support and encouragement to the covenant commitment that Eric and David are making together?”

“We do,” they replied. And if ever there were a time to play the national anthem, it was then. It was in that place where something new was being built, where people were united in one goal, with one voice, where the future was hard to make out but, yes, was there. We were there. Better and more complicated. That’s the only country I can survive in.

I don’t live in that country, but every day I vow to get there.

This is why I treasure Whitney’s “Star-Spangled Banner.” It does the miraculous in that it finds something beneath the words that is true and halcyon and greater than the failings of the nation it represents. Hearing Whitney’s voice, the response is automatic, soul-deep and centuries-old. It is the awakening of a piece within you that dares to be optimistic, a seed that was placed there by the prayer of an ancestor. It is never a guarantee.

WE COMMONLY SING only the first verse of the anthem. The singer wants confirmation about what is seen, what is perceived and what it means. And that lack of surety is America most of all. America is never a set notion; it is an ideal scarred from battle, perceived through smoke. The people must cry as one, “We do!” Is that what patriotism feels like? I feel that I should know, but patriotism, too, is always a question. It’s a concept that has been hijacked and beaten up, sold out and ripped to shreds by those who want it only for its surface rush, and not its arduous roots. Anything good in this country has had to be wrestled free.

Some say that’s the beauty of the nation; that’s the American Dream. But the tribulations that tinge every victory in pursuit of simply being American are the worst of us. They are a national shackle. And so it is a shock when the crisp, bright, free voice of a black woman elevates our national anthem from the dirgelike bottom of rote recitation to something otherworldly, something spiritual, something that dares to hope. The fact that it’s possible is a miracle. It lifts me up; it transforms the song; it builds the country from ash.

Thomas is the author of *Here for It: Or, How to Save Your Soul in America*, from which this essay is adapted

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Eyes on history

INSIDE A VIRTUAL REALITY RE-CREATION OF THE 1963 MARCH ON WASHINGTON

BY PATRICK LUCAS AUSTIN

TUCKED AWAY IN AN OFFICE ON A QUIET LOS ANGELES street, past hallways chockablock with miniature props and movie posters, is a cavernous motion-capture studio. And in that studio is the National Mall in Washington, D.C., in 1963, on the day Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his “I Have a Dream” speech.

Or rather, it was inside that room that the visual-effects studio Digital Domain captured the expressions, movements and spirit of King, so that he could appear digitally in *The March*, a virtual reality experience that TIME has produced in partnership with the civil rights leader’s estate. The experience, which is executive-produced and narrated by actor Viola Davis, draws on more than a decade of research in machine learning and human anatomy to create a visually striking re-creation of the country’s National Mall circa 1963—and of King himself.

When work on the project began more than three years ago, a big question needed answering. Was the existing technology capable of accomplishing the project’s goals—not just creating a stunningly realistic digital human, but doing so in a way that met the standards demanded by the subject matter? And Alton Glass, who co-created *The March* with TIME’s Mia Tramz, points out that another goal was just as key: the creation of what Glass calls a prosthetic memory—something people can use to see a famous historic moment through a different perspective, to surround themselves with those who were willing to make sacrifices in the past for the sake of a more inclusive future. “When you watch these stories, they’re more powerful,” says Glass, “because you’re actually experiencing them instead of reading about them.”

BACK IN THE LATE ’90S, when Digital Domain used motion-capture footage of stunt performers falling onto airbags to create *Titanic*’s harrowing scene of passengers jumping from the doomed ship, digitizing those stunts required covering each actor’s body with colorful tape and other markers for reference. To animate faces, an actor’s would be covered with anywhere from a dozen to hundreds of marker dots, used to map their features to a digital one. On the double, those points would be

moved manually, frame by frame, to create expressions. That arduous task was essential to avoid falling into the so-called uncanny valley, a term referring to digital or robotic humans that look just wrong enough to be unsettling. The work has gotten easier over the years—the company turned to automation for help making the *Avengers* baddie Thanos—but remains far from simple.

Calling on the artists behind a fantastical being like Thanos might seem like an unusual choice for a project that needed to be closely matched to real history, but similar know-how is needed, says Peter Martin, CEO of the virtual- and experience-focused creative agency V.A.L.I.S. studio, which partnered with TIME and Digital Domain.

Re-creating the 1963 March on Washington would still stretch the bounds of that experience. For one thing, virtual reality raises its own obstacles. High-end VR headsets that fit over your face achieve their graphical quality via a wired connection to a pricey gaming computer. *The March* is presented in a museum with high-powered computers, but a wireless option is needed to allow users to more easily move around in that space. It took Digital Domain’s technology director Lance Van Nostrand months to create a system that would solve for wirelessness without compromising quality.

Considering the difficulties of traveling back in time to August 1963, Digital Domain sent a crew to the National Mall and used photogrammetry—a method of extracting measurements and other data from photographs—to digitally



WHERE HUNDREDS OF DOTS WERE ONCE NECESSARY TO CHART FACIAL MOVEMENTS, TODAY’S REAL-TIME FACE TRACKING USES COMPUTER VISION TO MAP A PERSON’S FACE



map the site of the march. Hours of research went into transforming that data into a vision of the mall from five decades ago, checking the period accuracy of every building, bus or streetlight set to be digitized. Activists who participated in the real march were consulted, as were historians, to help re-create the feeling of being there, and archived audio recordings from that day fleshed out the virtual environment.

And then there was the “I Have a Dream” speech. Generally, to control digital doppelgängers, an actor dons a motion-capture suit along with a head-mounted camera pointed at the face. Where hundreds of dots were once necessary to chart facial movements, today’s real-time face tracking uses computer vision to map a person’s face—in this case, that of motivational speaker Stephon Ferguson, who regularly performs orations of King’s speeches. The digital re-creation of the civil rights leader requires of its audience the same thing Ferguson’s rendition does: a suspension of disbelief and an understanding that, while you may not be seeing the person whose words you’re hearing, this is perhaps the closest you’ll ever get to the feeling of listening to King speak to you.

Even so, it took seven animators nearly three months to perfect King’s movements during the segment of his speech that is included in the experience, working with character modelers to capture his likeness as well as his

IN HIS WORDS

Ferguson matches his motions to King’s real delivery while reciting the “I Have a Dream” speech at Digital Domain

mannerisms, including his facial tics and saccades—unconscious, involuntary eye movements.

“You cannot have a rubbery Dr. King delivering this speech as though he was in *Call of Duty*,” says *The March*’s lead producer, Ari Palitz of V.A.L.I.S. “It needed to look like Dr. King.”

Digital life after death has raised ethical questions before, especially when figures have been used in ways that seemed out of keeping with their real inspirations. King isn’t the first person to be digitally reanimated, and he won’t be the last, so these questions will only become more common, says Jeremy Bailenson, founder of Stanford’s Virtual Human Interaction Lab. “What to do with one’s digital footprint over time has got to be a part of the conversation about one’s estate,” he says. “It is your estate; it is your digital legacy.”

So for *The March*, though some creative license was taken—the timeline of the day is compressed, for example—every gesture King made had to be based on the truth. Only then would the result be, in its own way, true.

IN LOS ANGELES last December, I put on the headset to see a partially completed version of the entire experience, including a one-on-one with the virtual King, represented as a solitary figure on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. I gazed at his face in motion, and noticed a mole on his left cheek. It was inconspicuous, the black pinpoint accenting his face. I stepped forward.

When I approached the podium, I was met with a surprise—Dr. King looking right at me. His eyes were piercing, his face a mixture of confidence, austerity and half a million polygons optimized for viewing in a VR headset. He appeared frozen in time, and I found myself without words. Meeting his gaze was more challenging than I’d assumed it would be.

It was then I realized how my view of him had been, for my whole life, flattened. I’d experienced his presence in two dimensions, on grainy film or via big-budget reenactments. How striking to see him, arms outstretched, voice booming in my ears, in three dimensions, all in living color. “This is awesome,” I eked out. He didn’t hear me. □

MARCH ON
Find out more at
time.com/the-march

A dream restored

THE SOUND OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, LIKE IT'S NEVER BEEN HEARD BEFORE

BY ANDREW R. CHOW

YOU KNOW MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.'S "I HAVE A DREAM" speech. Or at least you think you know it—you've read about it in textbooks, or heard politicians quote from it, or seen clips in classrooms or museums.

But chances are, you haven't heard the full 17-minute address from the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, and what you have heard failed to capture what made it the one of the most famous speeches in history. Even if you wanted to, despite its renown, it's surprisingly hard to find. Online clips are removed swiftly, and those that evade detection crackle with white noise.

But this month, there will be a new way to hear the speech. TIME is releasing *The March*, a virtual reality experience that takes participants back to that day in August 1963. The experience uses original audio, available in rare fidelity thanks to an unlikely source: Motown Records. In its recording, King's clarion voice carries without the distracting echo picked up by inferior attempts to capture it. Spectators on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial chime in audibly as King proceeds through his remarks, making listeners feel as if they're 10 ft. from the podium. Crucially, the recording, which is also slated for rerelease for audiences today, challenges long-held notions about that day—and its story reveals King's struggles over how best to share his words with the world.

THE SPEECH'S JOURNEY to its place in history began months before the March on Washington. In Birmingham, Ala., in the spring of 1963, King led a series of protests against segregation that were brutally met by attack dogs, fire hoses and arrests. While in jail there, King wrote his "Letter From Birmingham Jail," which quickly became an essential treatise for civil rights. His resilience—and the national coverage the protests garnered—led to the legal, if not de facto, desegregation of the city, and solidified his place on the program at the August event.

"If [Dr. King] had failed in Birmingham, no one would have asked him to give the concluding speech at the March on Washington," says Clayborne Carson, a Stanford historian and editor of King's autobiography. "After Birmingham, no one would have wanted to follow him."

Meanwhile in Detroit, Motown Records was making waves as a rising powerhouse of black excellence. At a time when there were few black executives in the music industry, founder Berry Gordy had shepherded the rise of a factory-line production model that saw songs like the Miracles' "You've Really Got a Hold on Me" and the Marvelettes' "Please Mr. Postman" ascend the charts. Until that point, Gordy had mostly stayed away from activist causes. "I never wanted Motown to be a mouthpiece for civil rights," he tells TIME in an email. He had conceived Motown as a force for utopian integration—the "sound of young America," not just of black Americans—and he saw the label's economic success as a statement in itself.

But he was intrigued by King's non-violent credo and had reached out to him in 1962 about recording his speeches. "I saw Motown much like the world he was fighting for—people of all races and religions, working together harmoniously for a common goal," Gordy says.

King was wary. When a poorly recorded bootleg of one of his speeches, *Martin Luther King at Zion Hill*, had been released that year, he was dismayed that a speech he didn't consider particularly polished was being distributed nationally. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) filed a court injunction to prevent sales of the record, which ultimately cost more to produce than it recouped in sales.

King had another reason to be skeptical of Motown: he disapproved of the secularized brand of church music that was the label's specialty. "The profound

JOINING FORCES

From left, Berry Gordy and Martin Luther King Jr. hold King's first Motown album next to Lena Horne and Billy Taylor in Atlanta in 1963



sacred and spiritual meaning of the great music of the church must never be mixed with the transitory quality of rock and roll music,” King, who was himself a minister, wrote in an advice column in *Ebony* magazine in 1958. “The former serves to lift men’s souls to higher levels of reality, and therefore to God; the latter so often plunges men’s minds into degrading and immoral depths.”

But as soul music became institutionalized, King would come to see how it might be useful to him. In 1967 he spoke to black DJs at a convention, telling them, “School integration is much easier now that they share a common music, a common language, and enjoy the same dances.”

So in June 1963, King allowed Motown to record a speech in Detroit. An estimated 125,000 people attended the rally, which raised money for the SCLC and would come to be known as the Walk to Freedom. While now overshadowed by the March on Washington, the speech King gave at Cobo Hall includes the refrain “I have a dream” in cascading waves of conviction, presaging what would become one of the most enduring lines of the 20th century.

The Detroit speech would be Motown’s first foray into both spoken-word recording and the civil rights movement more broadly. In August, Gordy traveled to an SCLC benefit concert in Atlanta to meet King and present him with a copy of the album. It was around this time that the two reached a handshake deal for Motown to record King’s Washington speech the following week.

BUT WHILE KING and Gordy were reaching an arrangement, the march’s organizers were forging a deal of their own. They had agreed to give exclusive recording rights to WRVR, a radio station based out of New York City’s Riverside Church. News outlets flocked to the march to get their own versions too. The resulting confusion meant many microphones were near when King, 11 minutes in, went off script. After a planned section that likened segregation to a “bad check,” King cast aside his papers and launched into a new theme that would include this indelible line: “I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin



THE SOUND OF AMERICA Stevie Wonder, left, with Marvin Gaye in a Motown studio in Detroit in 1965. Founder Berry Gordy came to see the label as a force for integration

but by the content of their character.”

The speech was an instant classic, and it only grew in stature throughout that summer and fall. King made sure it was copyrighted from the start. But as its prestige increased, so did the number of recordings that began cropping up without permission—and without royalty deals that would benefit civil rights causes. King’s lawyer Clarence Jones, in his book *Behind the Dream*, wrote that he would walk into record stores to find unauthorized versions of the speech on full blast. “As Martin’s lawyer and friend, I had a duty to pursue legal recourse as soon as I got my hands on the records,” he wrote.

In October 1963, King filed a lawsuit against three recording companies, including Motown, to stop the spread of the speech and demand proceeds from any earlier sales in order to protect its legacy and more closely manage the use of his already famous words.

The lawsuit sent Gordy into a bewildered panic. In a hastily typed Oct. 14 telegram riddled with typos, Gordy pledged to stand down if necessary, writ-

ing, “The Motown Record Corporation is more concerned with the unity ov [sic] civil rights organizations and the progress of the negro in American [sic] than it is with the sale of a single record album.

“We were told by attorney Clarence Jones that the combined council would go along with the release of our album,” he wrote. “If this is not true we will remove our album from the marked [sic] immediately.”

A few days later, Motown was dropped from the lawsuit. An article in *Billboard* on Oct. 19 explained that Jones had not known of the agreement between King and Gordy when the suit was filed. The album hit the market as planned, with royalties flowing to the SCLC. King and Jones eventually reached additional deals with 20th Century Fox and Folkways to release their own records. The “official” WRVR version was also released, but only about 5,000 copies were pressed because of another, unrelated legal case.

The confusion over the recording from the march did not deter Gordy from his devotion to civil rights causes. Motown

was the first label to release a posthumous compilation of King's major speeches, titled *Free at Last*, and in the 1970s, Gordy founded the label Black Forum, which released compilations of speeches, poetry and oral history, as well as King's "Why I Oppose the War in Vietnam."

But "I Have a Dream" began to get harder to come by: after King's death in 1968, his estate strove to protect his legacy by preventing unauthorized releases, including suing CBS for selling a videotape that included excerpts from it in 1996. Motown stayed away from a re-release. From the beginning, King and his estate had retained the rights to the speech itself, and when Gordy sold Motown to MCA in 1988, he gave his only master copy of the company's recording to King's widow Coretta Scott King.

"To me they weren't just commercial masters to be bought and sold. They had historical significance," Gordy told TIME. "They represented a social and cultural change in our world. I felt they should belong to his family and to history."

WHEN TIME PRODUCERS began work on the VR project, they hoped to find a full-length, high-quality audio version of the speech. After some searching, just such a copy, which had been stowed away in an archive, was retrieved and digitally restored. "Because this version hadn't been touched in a long time, it didn't have the same degradation that any of the other recordings had," said Erik Lohr, the audio director for *The March*. "Specifically with the 'Dream' sequence, it's difficult to tell that it was recorded in 1963."

TIME producers also came across another archival discovery—from the stacks of WRVR, the radio station at Riverside Church. On the day of the march in 1963, WRVR sent a reporter, Walter Nixon, to interview people throughout the crowd and capture the day's atmosphere. But his tapes were never released, and they were found by an archivist at the church only last year. His interviews reveal a warm communal spirit on the ground, as well as minor details, like the fact that there were cicadas buzzing in the background. These aural discoveries were incorporated into the TIME project.

"It's small details like that that take you out of the history book and put you there

on that hot day," Cynthia Nixon, the actor and daughter of Walter Nixon, tells TIME.

But the heart of the experience lies in its use of the Motown tape, which isn't just remarkable for its impeccable sound quality: it also answers questions about the speech itself. While King was addressing the entire nation, he was also feeding off the energy of his immediate surroundings on the Lincoln Memorial, including that of his many friends and colleagues who treated the speech as a call-and-response. "He sensed the crowd," Carson, the Stanford historian, says. "It's one of the aspects of African-American oratory: the audience is part of the speech."

One of the loudest voices that can be heard on the record is that of gospel singer Mahalia Jackson, who also performed that day. She contributes loudly and frequently, her utterances serving as exclamation points for King's most fiery sentences. But while Jackson's impact on King's energy is palpable, Motown's recording also deflates a popular theory set forth by Clarence Jones and others: that she prompted King to launch into the "Dream" portion of the speech by imploring him to "tell them about the dream."

Jackson can be heard yelling "Yes!" the first time King says that he has a dream. But at that particular moment, she cannot be heard suggesting where the speech should go. Carson has long been skeptical of the idea of that version of history. "If she had shouted out something, the mic would have picked it up," Carson says. "It's just that simple."

In an interview with TIME, Jones still maintains that he heard Jackson yell to King. But whether or not she changed the course of history, the new release allows listeners to make fresh discoveries for themselves. In addition to the VR experience, King's estate says that it and Motown plan to rerelease the speech widely so people can hear it again.

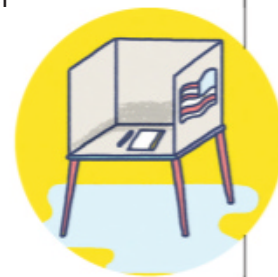
For Motown president Ethiopia Habtemariam, it was extremely important that King's speech be readily available in this moment. "It's kind of crazy that it's 2020—here we are in an election year—and to think where our country is now and where it was then," she tells TIME. "We need his words now. We are looking for leadership and guidance and hope." —*With reporting by* MAX BLAU/ATLANTA

8 RADICAL IDEAS FOR EQUALITY NOW

7. NO ELECTORAL COLLEGE

The distribution of electors in the Electoral College gives less populous states more power per person than more populous states. That leads to situations, like in 2000 and 2016, in which the presidential candidate who won the Electoral College lost the national popular vote. In an effort to align those two metrics, John Koza co-founded the National Popular Vote Interstate Compact in 2006. The idea is simple: participating states agree to award electors to the candidate who wins the national popular vote.

The deal kicks in only after enough states have joined to reach the 270-electoral-vote threshold. So far, 15 states and Washington, D.C.—196 electoral votes—are on board.



8. UNIVERSAL PAID LEAVE

The U.S. is the only developed country that doesn't guarantee paid family leave. That's bad for workers who need to take time off to have babies, care for a child or sick relative, or attend to their own health, but it also has a serious impact on the economy. After decades of progress, women's workforce participation has declined about 3% since 2000. Senator Kirsten Gillibrand (D., N.Y.) says she's got the fix: her bill, the FAMILY Act, which she's introduced in every Congress since 2013, would federally mandate 12 weeks of paid leave. Passing it is a long shot, but some Republicans have embraced the need for a solution.

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American
Red Cross

Time Off



**CULTURAL
EXCHANGE**
A new exhibit
explores
how Mexican
muralists shaped
American art

INSIDE

A GAY BLACK MAN NAVIGATES
LIFE AT A WHITE UNIVERSITY

JAMES MCBRIDE RETURNS WITH
A TALE OF TRUTH AND VIOLENCE

THE BEST NEW VIDEO GAMES
TO PLAY THIS YEAR

MY NIECES, MARÍA IZQUIERDO (1940)

ART

An influx of influence across the border

By Anna Purna Kambhampaty

JACKSON POLLOCK'S BEST-KNOWN influences are greats of European modernism like Pablo Picasso and Joan Miró. But often overlooked is the artist's time at New York City's Experimental Workshop, founded in 1936 by David Alfaro Siqueiros, who along with Diego Rivera and José Clemente Orozco led the postrevolution Mexican muralism movement. As an impressionable young painter there, Pollock was exposed to the techniques that would shape his signature "drip paintings" more than a decade later.

A new exhibit at the Whitney Museum of American Art, "Vida Americana," aims to rectify such oversights. The show shines a light on the Mexican artists whose politically charged, populist work shaped some of the most significant American artists of the 20th century, from Pollock to Philip Guston. The exhibit places Mexican works next to those of Americans who borrowed, often heavily, from their themes and methods. Then, as now, concerns around citizenship and migration fueled and complicated cultural exchange, leading to innovation as well as questions about appropriation and ownership. Here are several pairings that illustrate the breadth of influence that came across the border from 1925 to 1945.

1. RITUAL AND MYTH

Orozco made what is considered to be the first modern fresco mural by a Mexican artist on U.S. soil in 1930, when he was commissioned to paint **Prometheus** (top) at a new dining hall at Pomona College in California. The mural, a reproduction of which is displayed at the Whitney, was heralded by critics and artists. Pollock made a trip to California to see it for himself and would later hang a reproduction in his studio, as he considered it "the greatest painting done in modern times." Pollock's circa 1934–38 painting **The Flame** (bottom) depicts a semi-abstract fire and a skeleton, showing the influence not only of *Prometheus* but also of Orozco's early-1930s mural at Dartmouth College, *The Epic of American Civilization*. In Greek mythology, Prometheus is said to have gifted humans with fire, defying the gods. Orozco relied on myth to convey the eternal struggle of mankind, constantly progressing and regressing throughout time. Pollock's early work heavily explored ritual and myth as well, before he developed the even more abstract style that would bring him great fame.

1



2



3



American artists, in search of alternatives to European abstraction and a cure for the widespread materialism of industrial life, looked to their Mexican contemporaries

PROMETHEUS: ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS)/SOMAAP; THE FLAME, LANDSCAPE WITH STEER: THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART/SCALA/ART RESOURCE; THE ELECTRIC FOREST: INDIANAPOLIS MUSEUM OF ART; LOWER PANEL OF DETROIT INDUSTRY: BANCO DE MÉXICO DIEGO RIVERA FRIDA KAHLO MUSEUMS TRUST/ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS); AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY: SMITHSONIAN AMERICAN ART MUSEUM; PROLETARIAN VICTIM: THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART; GIDDAP: WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART



4

headspace the artists were in. The commonalities are striking, with both works adhering to Siqueiros' philosophy that in order to make truly radical art, artists must shed old practices and pioneer completely new methods.

3. GLORY AND CENSORSHIP

Impressed by artists' ability to create such epic works with the mission of unifying a war-torn Mexico, President Franklin Roosevelt saw the need for a similar movement in the U.S. in the midst of the Great Depression. Roosevelt established the Works Progress Administration's Federal Art Project in 1935, with the aim of making art a part of public life. At the Whitney, a mural study of William Gropper's 1940–41 **Automobile Industry (bottom)**, which was originally installed in a Detroit post office, shows a glorified vision of the working class in industrial America, with men laboring collaboratively to build a car. The lower panel of Diego Rivera's 1932–33 **Detroit Industry**

murals (top) depicts a romantic, racially integrated vision of the auto industry. One chief difference between the Mexican works and their American successors was the ability of the former to hold more depth and nuance, as they largely went uncensored (with the exception of a Rivera mural at Rockefeller Center, which was destroyed in 1934 after the artist refused to remove a portrait of Vladimir Lenin). Federally commissioned works were closely scrutinized, with controversial content often removed in service of an

unambiguously if also unrealistically positive, and often whitewashed, vision of America.

4. AGITATING FOR CHANGE

The muralists did not shy away from depicting the injustices of their era. Siqueiros was imprisoned several times by the Mexican government for his radicalism. His 1933 **Proletarian Victim (left)** portrays a woman shot in the head, bound and stripped, an apparent casualty of political violence. American artists also began to leverage art to agitate for social change. Hale Woodruff, an African-American artist who apprenticed with Rivera, depicted racial terror in a series of block prints. In his 1935 linocut **Giddap (right)**, a crowd of white men cheer at the lynching of a black man. "We are interested in expressing the South as a field, as a territory, its peculiar run-down landscape, its social and economic problems—the Negro people," Woodruff told TIME in 1942. Like Siqueiros, he hoped his work would educate audiences by elucidating, in undeniable visuals, the plight of oppressed people.

2. THE ANXIETY OF INFLUENCE

Pollock was never forthcoming about his time working with Siqueiros. Curator Barbara Haskell explains this omission by pointing to what Harold Bloom called the "anxiety of influence." Pollock likely struggled to navigate the ambiguous line between Siqueiros' ideas and his own. The American painter's circa 1936–37 **Landscape With Steer (bottom)** may have been completed about two years before Siqueiros' **The Electric Forest (top)**, but it speaks to the remarkably similar



REVIEW

Experiment in self-discovery

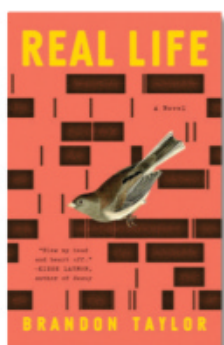
By Michael Arceneaux

IN BRANDON TAYLOR'S HIGHLY anticipated novel *Real Life*, protagonist Wallace—Southern, black and gay—has left behind his family and their fraught shared history to pursue graduate studies in biochemistry at a predominantly white Midwestern university. The novel unfolds over three long days spent in and out of the lab, diving into the daily indignities Wallace faces in a quietly toxic environment.

Wallace finds himself stressed by the discovery that his experiment, breeding nematode worms, has been ruined by mold; we wonder, perhaps, if it was the work of a saboteur. Still, he chooses to celebrate the last weekend of summer with friends from his program. But as the only black person among this clique of academics, he maintains an uneasiness around the group, keeping largely to himself. He could make more of an effort to hang, he knows, but given his peers' casual displays of prejudice, projection and general lack of awareness, it's easy to understand why he's wary. These so-called friends, after all, are guilty of shades of aggression from micro to macro, and none ever come to his defense. As Taylor writes, "There will always be good white people who love him and want the best for him but who are more afraid of other white people than of letting him down."

This would be enough to justify the distance Wallace maintains. But he's burdened with so much more: what Wallace's friends don't know is that his father recently died, a loss that is complicated by the fact that the man had failed to protect his young son from sexual abuse. Taylor unearths these layered struggles with tenderness and complexity, from the first gorgeous sentence of his book to its very last.

SOME OF US carry our past much further than we imagined we would. We think we've buried it or, even better, made our peace with it. And then, life reveals otherwise. Reading *Real Life*—which is equal parts captivating, erotic,



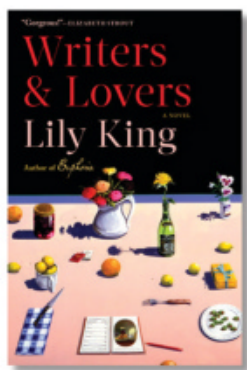
^
Taylor was a biochemistry graduate student, like his protagonist, when he started drafting his novel

smart and vivid—reminded me of experiences from my own history: I had no clue how much I actually wanted love until I met someone whose love I felt I couldn't live without.

For Wallace, it's a budding relationship with Miller—an ostensibly straight, white man in his friend group, with demons of his own—that helps him begin to recognize that he longs for affection as much as anyone. Their dynamic, as it unfolds, is both confusing and volatile. Relationships between queer men and men who are straight—or at least who present as such—can be difficult to depict, when our culture is so rigid in its portrayal of sexuality and masculinity, but the ambiguity Taylor creates on the page between Wallace and Miller is devastatingly effective.

Taylor's book isn't about overcoming trauma or the perils of academia or even just the experience of inhabiting a black body in a white space, even as *Real Life* does cover these subjects. Taylor is also tackling loneliness, desire and—more than anything—finding purpose, meaning and happiness in one's own life. What makes it most special, though, is that *Real Life* is told from the perspective of Wallace, who, like so many other gay black men I know, understands how such a quest is further complicated by racism, poverty and homophobia. Such is often the case with publishing itself, an industry that is only now releasing works from queer black men. How fortunate we are for *Real Life*, another stunning contribution from a community long deserving of the chance to tell its stories.

Arceneaux is the author of the essay collections *I Can't Date Jesus* and the forthcoming *I Don't Want to Die Poor*



REVIEW

A creative coming-of-age

In the mornings, aspiring novelist Casey Peabody tries not to think about her student debt, her ex-lover or her dead mother. Doing so would distract Casey, the narrator of Lily King's *Writers & Lovers*, from the task at hand: finishing the manuscript she's been laboring over for six years.

The 31-year-old restaurant server remains determined to complete her novel, even as the friends she's met in workshops and writers' retreats are becoming less committed to their craft. Casey watches her peers build their lives as she continues to chase her dream, working to make ends meet and living in a mildewy garage turned apartment.

Beyond illustrating the gritty frustrations that accompany grand ambition of any kind, King—author of the acclaimed 2014 novel *Euphoria*—captures the struggles unique to the writing process. Casey not only dwells on the difficulties she faces in beginning a draft but also grows completely overwhelmed once she's done, feeling “wide open and skinless.”

Writers & Lovers accelerates as Casey finds inspiration in two affairs: one with a novelist, and another with a student from the novelist's class. But her feelings for the two men introduce more chaos into her already unstable life, forcing her to face her many disappointments. In the end, it may be her writing, the thing that has held her back, that carries her through.

—Annabel Gutterman

REVIEW

A troubling day in the neighborhood

By Joshunda Sanders

ON A SEPTEMBER DAY IN 1969, IN THE projects of Brooklyn, a drunken deacon named Sportcoat shoots the local drug dealer, Deems. The community—an ensemble of black, Puerto Rican, Italian and Irish characters, reflecting the diversity that has always made New York City distinct—reacts to the shooting with a combination of gossip, embellishment of details and reflection on what it means for their home.

But Sportcoat's actions also set into motion an underground network of mobsters and malcontents, along with cops and church folk, all trying to get to the bottom of how a washed-up deacon came to shoot a young man he once coached in baseball.

On its surface, *Deacon King Kong* is about the tension between wayward souls and those on the straight and narrow. But on a deeper level, James McBride's first novel since his National Book Award-winning *The Good Lord Bird* is about our deep and complex relationships to the places and people who make us who we are, and how we change—either in spite or because of them. The tie that binds everyone in these pages is how they strive for a life that is safe and steeped in love. Many find that in their faith; a few manage to find it in one another.

Readers of *The Good Lord Bird* will recognize shades of McBride's hilarious dialogue and an attention to detail that reveal a complex local history. Capturing humanity through satire and witticisms, McBride draws everyday heroes:

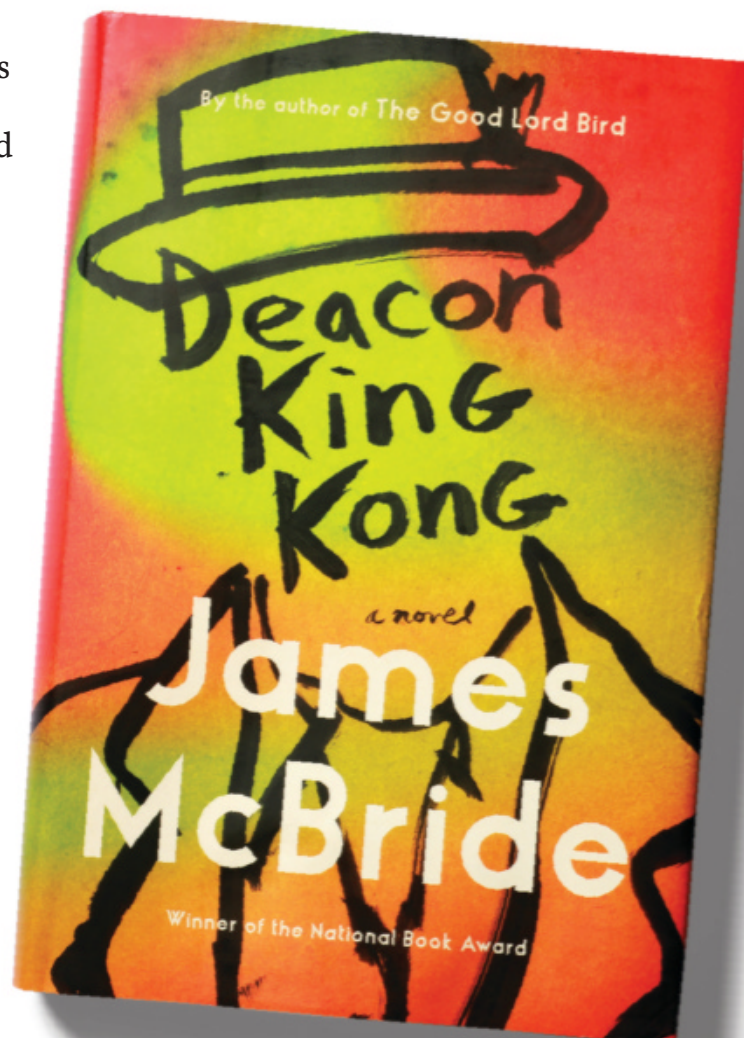
bickering church ladies collecting coins for the Christmas Club box; mothers washing the soiled clothes of other people's children; weathered gangsters sending quality cheese to the projects.

McBride positions *Deacon King Kong* on the precipice of a profound historical moment: as he illustrates, these knit-together old neighborhoods fell away after broader societal and urban shifts, not just in New York but around the

country, beginning in the 1970s after the deaths of civil rights leaders and change-makers. In the new world, there would be nothing so uniting as a town drunk and his love and loathing for the promising ballplayer who turns to drugs. McBride's

novel is a rich and vivid multicultural history. But he also depicts the vulnerability of men who show most of the world only their gruff exteriors, rendered with rare and memorable tenderness. □

McBride's novel is a rich and vivid multicultural history



➤ McBride is the author of six other books, including a James Brown biography

PREVIEW

Ready, player one? 2020 promises swan songs

By Matthew Gault

By this time next year, a devoted gamer may well have a shiny new console hooked up to the TV: upgrades to Sony's PlayStation and Microsoft's Xbox are expected for the 2020 holiday season. But cry not for the PlayStation 4 or Xbox One—the best games tend to come during the final years of a system's life span. These are the releases that promise what time remains is quality time:

CYBERPUNK 2077

Off the success of *The Witcher 3*, developer CD Projekt Red is going from medieval fantasy world to the futuristic cyberpunk dystopia of Night City with *Cyberpunk 2077*. The open-world role-playing game promises a compelling story line rife with betrayal and revenge; computer-enhanced humans running amok; and an appearance from none other than Keanu Reeves, who plays a kind of ghost that's stuck in players' heads. Gamers will be free to choose how they want to tackle *Cyberpunk 2077*'s challenges—they could choose to sneak through enemy bases undetected, or smash through the walls, guns blazing. Originally slated for April, *Cyberpunk 2077* has been delayed until September—but too many promising games have been rushed out the door willy-nilly lately to meet production deadlines, so we're fine waiting for this one until it's truly ready to play. (Out for PC, PlayStation 4 and Xbox One on Sept. 17)

FINAL FANTASY VII REMAKE

Final Fantasy VII, which originally came out in 1997, defined the role-playing genre for a generation of gamers and went on to sell more than 12 million copies worldwide. Even now, the game and its characters, like Cloud and Sephiroth, remain among video gaming's most iconic. But many gamers, especially younger ones, never got the chance to play this PlayStation classic—and they'll have a new opportunity to try it this year, as developer Square Enix has reimagined the game from the ground up. The turn-based combat system has been overhauled, the graphics have

With Microsoft and Sony both rolling out upgrades, games are about to look and perform better than ever before

gotten a face-lift, and there's even a fresh orchestral score. If it's a hit, it could convince other game studios to refresh their old-school classics too. (Out for PlayStation 4 on April 10)

DOOM ETERNAL

Speaking of beloved franchises, developer id Software is back this year with *Doom Eternal*. As sequel to 2016's *Doom*, the new game aims to double down on everything that made the first a surprise hit. Players will once again have to wage war against the forces of heaven and hell alike to save earth from the apocalypse. It may not be as heady as other modern games that seek to push the boundaries of the medium through groundbreaking storytelling or mechanics—but it's nice to still have games that are less about thinking and more about run-and-gun action. (Out for PC, PlayStation 4 and Xbox One on March 20)

THE LAST OF US PART II

If it's thinkier games you want, *The Last of Us Part II* should satisfy. The long-anticipated sequel to one of the best games of the decade, *Part II* continues the story of Joel and Ellie, a father-daughter pair desperate to survive a zombie apocalypse. But the story is really more about

the pair's complicated interpersonal dynamics than it is about the zombies—though their ever present threat certainly helps ratchet up the tension. (Out for PlayStation 4 on May 29)

ANIMAL CROSSING: NEW HORIZONS

Animal Crossing: New Horizons is the latest entry in Nintendo's delightful Sims-style series. Players purchase a vacation package from a rascally raccoon named Tom Nook. Suddenly, they're stranded on a deserted island, forced to spruce up the place and solve puzzles to repay Nook. *Animal Crossing* may be less popular than some of Nintendo's bigger hits, but it's a perfect distillation of the company's mission to create games that are just plain fun. (Out for Nintendo Switch on March 20)

HALO INFINITE

Microsoft hasn't revealed much about *Halo Infinite*, a launch title for its next-generation Xbox Series X. But *Halo* games have often been reason enough to buy a new console, so this is one for gamers to keep an eye on. (Out for Xbox Series X this holiday season)

BONUS: PLAYSTATION 5 AND XBOX SERIES X

These next-generation consoles will be computing powerhouses able to run games at 4K resolution with superfast frame rates. With Microsoft and Sony both rolling out upgrades, games are about to look and perform better than ever before. (Out this holiday season)



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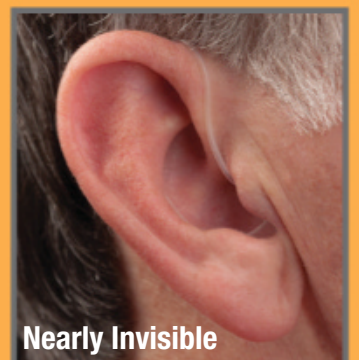
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STEPPING ONSTAGE

John Lewis, 23, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee chairman, addressing March on Washington attendees at the Lincoln Memorial on Aug. 28, 1963

Then and now

REMEMBERING THE 1963 MARCH ON WASHINGTON, AND WHAT CAME AFTER

BY JOHN LEWIS

ON THE DAY OF THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON, I WAS very excited about being able to speak to the crowd about civil rights. I was ready. A. Philip Randolph introduced me as “young John Lewis, national chairman, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.” I said to myself, “This is it. I must do my best.” I looked to my right, I looked to my left, and I looked straight ahead, and I went for it.

I think often about “young John Lewis.” Today, I would tell him, “You got out there. You pushed and you pulled. You helped lead a movement to make things better for this generation and for generations yet unborn.” I come in contact with a lot of young people, a lot of young children. These kids are so smart and so gifted—if we had been that smart and that gifted, we would be much farther down the road.

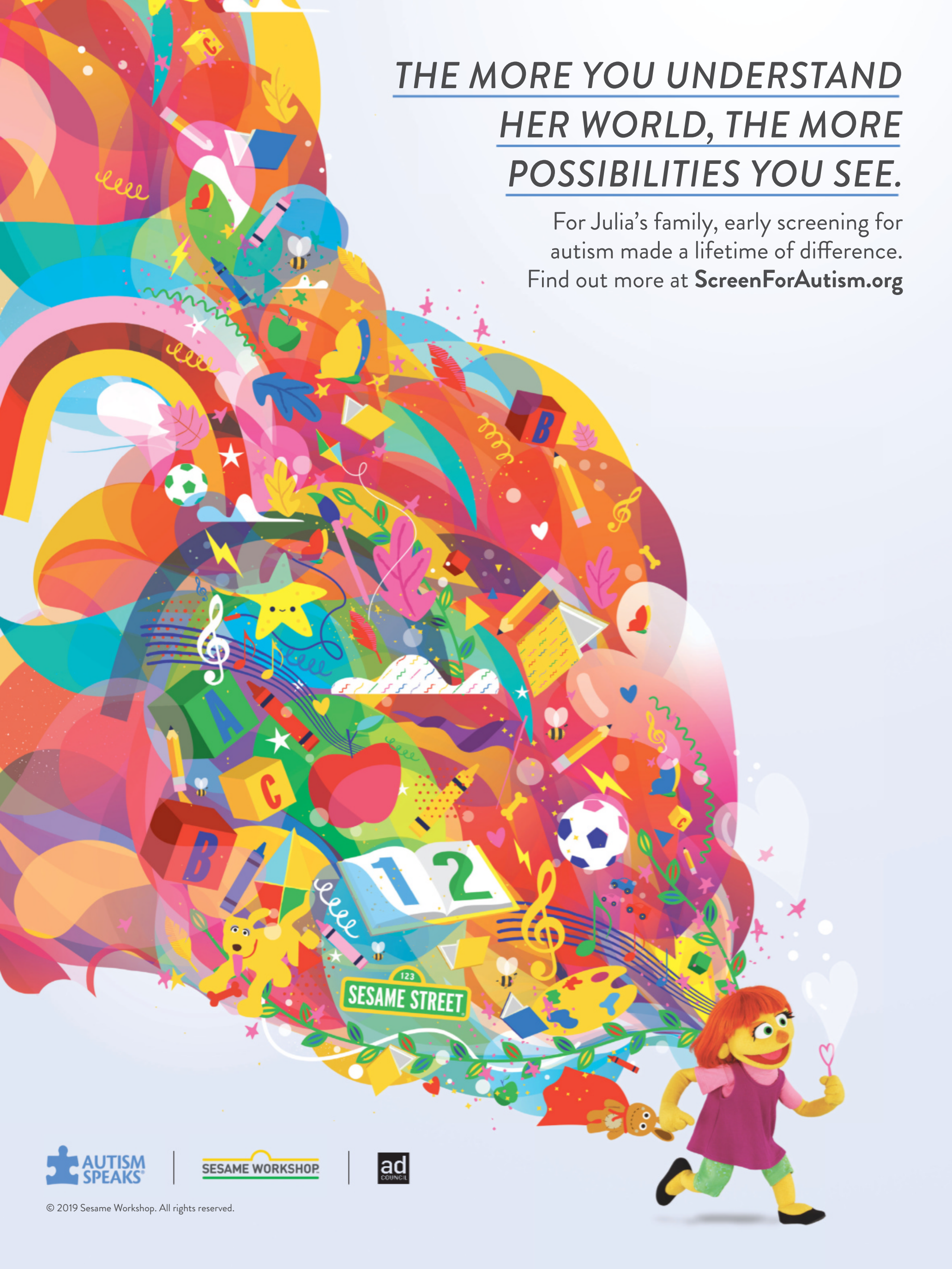
We have come far since then, but there is still such a distance to travel. So many of our people are suffering. When we come to a point in our nation where little children, babies, are being taken from their parents and put in cages,

I don’t think history will be kind to us.

I have never witnessed anything like what we’re going through today. Not during the 1960s, in spite of everything that we came through—the arrests, the jailings, the beatings. Something is happening in America today that is frightening. What is happening is a threat to our democracy, and sometimes I fear that we are in the process of losing it.

But we must never ever lose hope, we must keep the faith, keep building and working hard to create what Dr. King and what others called the “Beloved Community.” We have to redeem the soul of America.

Lewis is the U.S. Representative for Georgia’s Fifth Congressional District and a member of the 2017 TIME 100



THE MORE YOU UNDERSTAND HER WORLD, THE MORE POSSIBILITIES YOU SEE.

For Julia's family, early screening for autism made a lifetime of difference. Find out more at ScreenForAutism.org

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